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INTERNATIONAL

NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR

Sport

Schumacher
splashes
to victory

Polly Toynbee on:
**Throw money to
these youngsters**

Ian King on:
**Predators move
in on UK firms**

Results, reports, analysis

Comment, page 12

Finance, page 15

'No road is worth these lives'



Jason Quinn (left) eight last week, who died with brothers Mark (centre) aged nine, and Richard, 10 (right). Lee, aged 13 (standing) was staying with his grandmother when the arsonists struck

Catholic mother target of arsonists

John Hullah
Ireland Correspondent

JASON Quinn celebrated his eighth birthday last Tuesday. As a treat, his mum allowed him to sleep out with five friends. They put up a two-man tent and crammed inside. They ate chocolate and munched sweets. They scoured each other with ghost stories, giggling deep into the night before falling asleep. Chrissie Quinn, aged 29, had given her youngest boy money for his birthday. He used it to buy a pair of trainers.

He was wearing them on Saturday, as he tore around with his friends, searching for wood for the Carnary estate's June 11 bonfire. They stopped for chips, and then watched entranced as the flames leapt into the sky. He knew nothing about the fire being a celebration of King William III's victory at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690 over the Catholic forces of James II. He was unaware, too, of the differences between Protestants and Catholics, and there are many much older and wiser who still struggle to fathom it out. Yesterday the ashes of the bonfire were still smouldering. Jason was dead. So too



cape. He had screamed: "My feet are burning. My feet are burning." Ms Quinn, who managed to get out, stood in hysterics with a family friend, Christine Archibald, 18, who had been visiting. They were suffering from smoke inhalation.

She coughed the same way, sage over and over. "Get a ladder. Get a ladder. My weans [children] are in there. My weans are in there." Raymond Craig, 31, her new boyfriend, who was also in the house, made heroic efforts to try to save the boys. He scrambled on to the back doop porch, sending tiles tumbling as he reached the window, and sent his flat through it. He cut himself badly and dropped the blue towel wrapped around his face to combat the intense heat. He was too late.

Firefighters raced up the stairs, fearing for Ms Quinn's fourth son. But Lee, 13, had gone off to stay with her mother, Irene Quinn, whose own house was firebombed the other night. Ms Quinn lay in hospital yesterday. She was suffering from little more than smoke inhalation and the wish that she had perished along with

her boys. She was unwilling to speak, unable to move. Her cousin, Shirley Patton, 30, explained: "She is there in body but somewhere else in spirit. She knows what has happened, but she is totally out of it. How could you ever recover from something as terrible as this?" The arsonists who targeted Chrissie Quinn, apparently in defence of the right of Orangemen to march at Drumcree, did so because she was a Catholic. Worse: she was bringing her sons up as Protestants. Ms Quinn comes from a long line of mixed marriages. Her father is Catholic and her mother is a Protestant. And her maternal grandmother was a Catholic who married a Protestant. The Carnary estate, completed 22 years ago, is maybe 80 per cent Protestant, compared with the 75-25 split throughout Ballymoney, 40 miles north west of Belfast.

'A 15-minute walk down Garvaghy Road would be... in the shadow of the coffins of three little boys who wouldn't even know what the Orange Order is about. No road is worth a life'

William Bingham,
Orange Order's
county chaplain
for Armagh

'The only way in which the Portadown brethren can disassociate themselves from these murders... is to come down off the hill'

David Trimble
First Minister

'It's absolutely heartbreaking that three young children lose their lives in this way, an act of barbarism'

Tony Blair

On top of the world: French flair leaves Brazil stunned

Jon Henley on a surprise victory

FRANCE won the World Cup for the first time in their history last night, with a convincing 3-0 victory over the holders Brazil. The 75,000 fans in the Stade de France erupted into a patriotic frenzy of celebrations as captain Didier Deschamps held aloft the World Cup trophy — and the nation embarked on a party to end all parties. Two first-half goals from Zinedine Zidane put the hosts in a comfortable position — and they clung on in the second half, despite being reduced to 10 men, with the sending off of defender Marcel Desailly for a second bookable offence. Brazil gave an off-colour performance, with a low-

key game from striker Ronaldo. He had been struggling with an ankle injury, and was listed as a substitute — but 45 minutes before kick off he was passed fit after tests in hospital. World Cup organisers Fifa accepted Brazil's explanation for needing to change the team sheet. No French team had ever contested a World Cup final, and this was the first time a host nation had faced the holders for a trophy that a Frenchman, Jules Rimet, invented. Cars packed the boulevards, horns blaring and tricolours fluttering. Before the match there had been a carnival atmosphere on cafe terraces throughout Paris as French and Brazil-

ian fans embraced under the eyes of waiters whose faces were painted red, white and blue. The success of France's multi-racial team on the field, and their unprecedented level of support off it, have sparked a sense of unity in a country that has grappled with recession and unemployment, racial and social divides, and the loss of old world certainties that it did much to shape. According to a poll yesterday, 72 per cent of France's 60 million citizens were planning to descend on to the streets to celebrate if Les Bleus beat Brazil. A Sunday newspaper printed dozens of handwritten notes to the team from politicians and show-

biz personalities. "Brazil-France: a dream final," wrote the prime minister, Lionel Jospin. "This evening, all of France is behind you." The team will parade down the Champs-Élysées in an open-topped bus this afternoon to the Arc de Triomphe, and will be presented to President Jacques Chirac at the Elysée Palace on Tuesday. "This kind of thing happens once in a lifetime," said Noelle Chesnais, a 32-year-old social worker. "For all France to come together like this, around a team of so many colours that represents our future — you have to celebrate it."



Zidane celebrates after scoring France's first goal. PHOTOGRAPH: CHARLES PLATTI

Inside

Britain

World News

Finance

UK, Europe and World
Comment 12; Crossword 18
Leader and Letters 12
Obituary 12
Sports section
Sport 17-22
Quick Crossword 23



"One ring and I was covered," quips Jeweller.

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Ulster: United in grief

'There are many decent Orangemen who will not allow these colours to be brought into the gutter'

Drumcree protest goes on

Unionists divide Orange Order

Rory Carroll

THE Unionist establishment split the Orange Order last night, on the eve of its climactic march today, by pleading for the Drumcree protest to be abandoned after loyalist firebombers murdered three children.

But last night the leaders of the Drumcree protest voted to ignore the pressure and "continue indefinitely".

Earlier Protestant politicians, clergymen and Orange leaders said a parade down the Catholic Garvaghy Road was not worth the deaths.

William Bingham, chaplain of the order at Co Armagh, stunned Orangemen camped at Drumcree by telling a congregation: "A 15-minute walk would be a hollow victory in

the shadow of the coffins of three children."

"We need to think where we are going and what we are doing — and let me tell you there are many decent Orangemen who will not allow these colours which we wear so proudly to be brought into the gutter. I believe the Orange Order needs to call off its protests because we can't control them."

Robin Eames, the Church of Ireland primate, joined David Trimble, Northern Ireland's First Minister, in urging withdrawal. The Grand Lodge was meeting last night to decide its response, but the Portadown Lodge said it would carry on.

Orangemen were furious that the Parades Commission yesterday rejected a fresh application to walk down Garvaghy Road.

The next 48 hours are crucial. This morning's Orange Order parade down Belfast's Lower Ormeau Road could turn violent when police remove protesting Catholic residents.

Police fear the marchers will travel to Drumcree afterwards. Pressure is mounting on the order to resume proximity talks with the Garvaghy Road Residents' Coalition. Dissident republican terrorists are believed to be trying to exploit tensions with attempted bombings.

Mainstream Unionists' ambivalence to the Drumcree protests dissolved in revulsion at yesterday's firebomb attack in the mostly Protestant town of Ballymoney, north Antrim.

Mr Bingham's plea quickly became a chorus. Mr Trimble, the Ulster Unionist leader, said: "The only way they can disassociate themselves now is to leave the hill at Drumcree parish church and return home."

Archbishop Eames warned: "In God's name pull back ... at the end of the day, is anything worth a human life? I don't know what way they will leave but I want them to leave."

A £100,000 reward for the capture and conviction of the bombers was offered by Ken

Bates, the chairman of Chelsea Football Club. Brought up a Protestant but now a lapsed Catholic convert, he said he was seething.

Police and troops have sealed every street off the Lower Ormeau Road in preparation for today's 8.30am parade, which was approved by the Parades Commission.

Residents hung black flags on lamp-posts to commemorate murdered Catholics.

Two years ago Orangemen drove to Drumcree to reinforce their brethren after the Lower Ormeau parade.

Orangemen at Drumcree said they were staggered that Protestant leaders had ended up siding with a convicted republican terrorist, but would await the outcome of a

Coalition. The Orangemen refuse to meet its spokesman, Brendan MacDonnall, because of a 1982 terrorist conviction.

Yesterday he urged Mr Powell to resume the talks. Appealing to Orangemen, who loathe him, Mr MacDonnall said: "We should all try to start to get a resolution to this problem, and the only way to do this is by engaging constructively by, if you like, starting to embrace one another instead of putting distance between ourselves."

Orangemen at Drumcree said they were staggered that Protestant leaders had ended up siding with a convicted republican terrorist, but would await the outcome of a

meeting of their own lodge leaders.

However, Orangemen abandoned one protest — the "freedom camp" outside Mo Mowlam's official residence at Hillsborough Castle, Co Down — and left three wreaths, one for each of the murdered boys.

Army bomb disposal experts defused a 700lb bomb found on the roadside between Moy and Armagh. It was believed to have been left by breakaway republicans, who were also blamed for last week's foiled attack on London.

Three of the 10 people arrested on Friday in London and Ireland were released yesterday.

Timebomb that blocks the road to peace

Obstacles/ The next hurdle is always higher but Ballymoney could be historic turning point

John Mullin

ONLY 12 days ago the Irish News, the nationalist daily newspaper, was upbeat about Northern Ireland's future. Its front page headline read: "Our Future Starts Today".

Its optimistic note followed the inaugural meeting of the new assembly at Castle Buildings, Stormont. David Trimble, leader of the Ulster Unionist Party, and Seamus Mallon, deputy leader of the SDLP, were elected as first and deputy first ministers.

There had been doubts that Mr Trimble, on the rack within the Unionist community over siding in government with Sinn Féin before the IRA begins decommissioning its weapons, would scrape a sufficient majority.

Politics in Northern Ireland these days is a case of concentrating on stumbling over the most immediate difficulty. The next challenge can wait, but assumes greater significance.

No one was certain the Good Friday Agreement could be reached until it was. The referendum brought an even bigger challenge, and then came the elections. They went just about well enough. Ditto with Mr Trimble's election.

But, all the while the Drumcree timebomb was ticking away. It had been a flashpoint for three years, and this year was going to be the biggest. It was always going to be the litmus test.

For Orangemen, there are principles involved. They suggested that, in a mature society, people should be entitled to express their cultural identity peacefully and reeled off concessions they had made over marching down the Garvaghy Road.

They employed Sinn Féin's language of victimhood. They suggested the nationalist residents of the Garvaghy Road were intent on fostering a cultural apartheid typical of South Africa or the American southern states. The parade from Drumcree church back into Portadown was portrayed as a civil rights march.

But Drumcree this year was something more. It was a rallying-point for disaffection not only with the Good Friday Agreement but for the perceived shift of Government

which helped make it possible. It became the focus for self-out accusations, and was the line in the sand for uncompromising Unionism.

Tony Blair and Northern Ireland Secretary Mo Mowlam's continual emphasis that this year is different, and that therefore accommodation is more likely, because the majority of Northern Ireland's voters have twice backed the agreement is irksome. It is precisely because the electorate have done so that the Orangemen are now in their second week of camping out.

The true difference this year, compared with 1996, when the RUC reversed its initial ban on the Orangemen, is that the Government is determined. So too is Ronnie Flanagan, RUC chief constable. It is inconceivable that they will be allowed through.

To give an ultimatum in politics is dangerous, and the Orangemen have done just that. They have also allowed their ground, moral and physical, to be occupied by thugs and terrorists. To win would be a victory that shames them. To lose will be a humiliation.

The situation now is radically different from when hardline Unionists and loyalist paramilitaries brought down the Sunningdale Agreement and, with it, the power-sharing executive in 1974. It was the last time Northern Ireland held much power over its own affairs, and comparisons are inevitable.

In 1974, loyalists in the power stations ran down electricity production, causing frequent black-outs, while on the streets paramilitary groups built barricades and intimidated those attempting to get to work. Now that unity of purpose is absent.

There were signs this weekend that the Orangemen were losing heart as loyalists threw blast bombs and shot at police. They knew they were losing control, and crowds at Drumcree were dwindling.

The tragedy in Ballymoney, which could prove an historic turning-point, offers them an honourable exit. To march back to the Carleton Orange Hall by the way they came would go some way to recouping lost ground. But the opposition to the assembly and the Good Friday Agreement would be lanced.



Flying the flags ... many Orangemen decided to leave the barricades at Drumcree yesterday. But leaders of the protest voted to continue indefinitely

PHOTOGRAPH: SEAN SMITH

200 years of failure to curb marches and violence

History/ Orange Order power forced successive governments to drop attempts to stop the parades

Christine Kinealy

THE Orange Order is again insisting that the sectarian tensions and violence engendered by the marching season is a recent phenomenon. History, however, proves otherwise.

The recent pattern of re-routed marches, sectarian divisions and violent resistance to government bans has been all too familiar in the two centuries since the order's foundation.

And, significantly, whenever the Orange Order has defied a government ban on marching it has ultimately triumphed.

The order was founded in 1795 in Armagh, after a sectarian confrontation known as the Battle of the Diamond, in which 30 Catholics were killed. The violence followed a period of deep Protestant ascendancy. The influence of the order new lodges quickly spread, though mostly in the eastern counties of Ulster. Lodges were also established throughout England, Scotland and Canada.

From the outset, the order was a Protestant body, dedicated to sustaining the "glorious and immortal memory" of William of Orange who, in the 18th century had become a Protestant icon.

Increasingly, he was remembered for his victories at the Boyne and Aughrim over the Catholic King James II. The Boyne, in particular, was regarded as signifying the triumph of Protestantism over Catholicism, though Aughrim was the more decisive battle.

In the 19th century the annual commemoration of the battle of the Boyne on July 12 (though the battle was fought on July 1) became a key signifier of Protestant ascendancy. The influence of the order new lodges quickly spread, though mostly in the eastern counties of Ulster. Lodges were also established throughout England, Scotland and Canada.

As the Twelfth of July increasingly became an occasion of sectarian conflict, the British government and its representatives in Ireland tried to curb the worst ex-

cesses. In the 1820s an Unlawful Society Act was passed but it was largely ignored.

As a result, an Anti-Processions Act was passed in 1832, which succeeded in limiting the Twelfth of July parades, although commemorative dinners continued to be held and bells were rung throughout the day and the order itself contin-

ued to flourish. In 1835, a government inquiry said Orangemen had infiltrated the yeomanry and army and that the order was being helped by Protestant landlords, merchants and judges.

In 1845, as potato blight triggered the Great Famine in Ireland, the Anti-Processions Act was removed, resulting in an immediate increase in Twelfth of July parades. Despite famine and death, the marches again became occasions for sectarian conflict.

In 1848, a small and easily suppressed nationalist upris-

ing provided the order with an opportunity to portray itself as defenders of the British state. It called on "loyal Protestants" to arm themselves. The situation came to a head on July 12, 1849, when

the local lodge decided to march through a Catholic area in Dolly's Brae, near Castlewellan. Its leaders were asked by local magistrates to avoid the route, the request was refused.

The Grand Master of the Orange Lodge (also a JP and MP in Westminster), Lord Roden, provided the marchers with refreshments, including alcohol, and urged them to do their duty as loyal Protestant men. By the end of the day, in which they marched through the prohibited area, 30 Catholics had been killed.

This led to the passing of a further act banning processions in Ireland, in 1850. It was strengthened by the Party Emblems Act of 1880, but such restrictions were openly defied.

In 1887, when William Johnston led Orangemen in a Twelfth of July march from Newtownards, he was arrested. But he emerged from his imprisonment as a hero and was subsequently, as MP for Belfast, responsible for getting the Processions Act repealed in 1872.

The growth of Irish nationalism in the final decades of the 19th century saw an even more militant form of unionism emerge, and the forging of the link with the Unionist Party. The appearance of the marches also began to change

with the introduction of saashes, flute bands and drums.

The parade gained increased significance in 1921, following the partition of Ireland and the setting up of the Northern Irish state.

In 1932, the Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, James Craig, declared at the celebrations: "Ours is a Protestant government and I am an Orangeman."

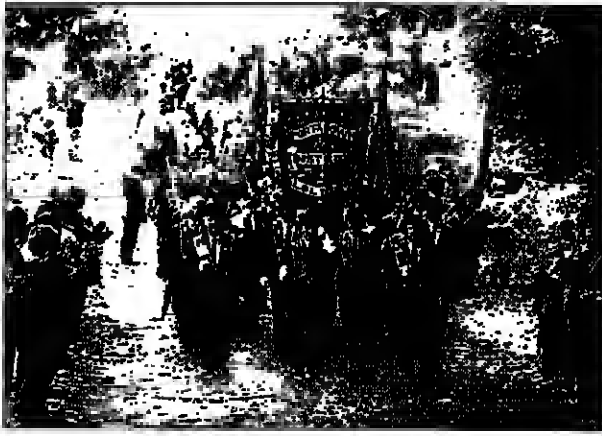
But in 1935, alarmed by the growth in sectarian confrontations, the Northern Ireland government banned all parades during the summer. Orange Order pressure soon got the ban lifted: the Twelfth of July parade was accompanied by rioting that lasted for six weeks and killed 13 people.

In 1982, the Northern Irish government again tried to reroute the marches but had to back down in the face of Orange Order resistance.

With the beginning of the Troubles, in 1969, marches became even more highly charged as the Orange Order repeatedly defied or ignored attempts to re-route them.

A full report can be found at the Guardian website: www.guardian.co.uk

Christine Kinealy is an author specialising in Ireland



Another victory ... the Drumcree parade beats the 1996 ban

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Ulster: United in grief

'Everyone in England thinks we're all bad people. We're not, but we have to make our stand'

Tragedy fails to end defiance

At the barricade/ 'We can't stop because those boys died. That would be weakness'

Rory Carroll

SEVENTY miles away three children lay dead and the Orangemen at Drumcree could not disguise their grief. Heads bowed, they stood outside the church in the rain saying nothing. Inside, their brethren prayed for God to have mercy on the departed.

Stewards stopped anyone approaching the barrier blocking the path to Garvaghy Road. Now was not the time to challenge police. "Respect for the dead, please."

And they did respect Frank Jones, aged 87, whose time had come to be buried in the graveyard next door. After a long illness, the grocer and former major in the Ulster Defence Regiment died last week in a nursing home. He had served his community with distinction so it was only right that the protesters paused to mark his passing.

The hearse wound its way back from the graveyard and business resumed: taunts at soldiers and police, inspections of newly laid barbed wire and the gathering of fuel for bonfires.

And the Quinn brothers? "Terrible, really terrible, but we can't stop the protest because those boys died," said Dean Curry, aged 19.

"That would be weakness and that's always been the trouble with Protestants. We lie down when it gets rough and allow Catholics to trample over us."

Crouched at the mouth of a damp tent, he cupped his cigarette from the wind and explained why three deaths could not deflect the Orangemen.

"Everyone in England thinks we're all bad people. We're not, but we can't give in, we have to make our stand or the Catholics will keep pushing. The Republic used to be 10 per cent Protestant, now it's 2 per cent. That will happen here if we let it."

"The Catholics fight and fight and fight, but the Protestant are a lot more backward, they lie down. You never see the Catholics doing that."

Curry will become an Orangeman after the Twelfth but continue to be employed by and socialise with Catholics.

Most Orangemen at Drumcree accepted that the Ballymoney arson attack was probably done to support their protest, but placed blame on the Parades Commission.

Permission last week to walk down Garvaghy Road would have prevented a week of mayhem and saved the Quinns. Orangemen dismissed calls from Unionist and Protestant leaders to abandon the protest.

"We have no responsibility for what happened. We're here in peace. Those deaths should be laid at the door of Tony Blair, Mo Mowlam and Alistair Graham [the Parades Commission chairman]," said Mark, a father of two girls.

Behind him radio news leaked from a car. David Trimble, Northern Ireland's First Minister, had joined Archbishop Robin Eames and William Bingham, chaplain of the Orange Order in Co Antrim, in pleading for the Orangemen to go home.

"Hah! I voted for Trimble in the [assembly] election. I voted for peace. But we've had six days of peace here and achieved nothing. It's time for other measures," said Mark.

His wife nodded. "Who's Bingham anyway? He's not the Orange Order, I've never heard of him before. We're staying here tonight and tomorrow."

How far should the Order go in its protest? "As far as it can, but it shouldn't engage in violence. It doesn't have to."

Thirty yards away tattooed men gazed from two caravans emblazoned with posters of Billy Wright, the murdered leader of the Loyalist Volunteer Force.

Five Yorkshirians huddled inside a tent topped by this flag of St George. Squelchy ground and chill winds had doused their fire but they ate cold beans and remained defiant.

Opposing David Trimble, Robin Eames and weak-kneed Orangemen was not a problem. "We can do without that crowd. What we need is lighter fuel and bog roll."

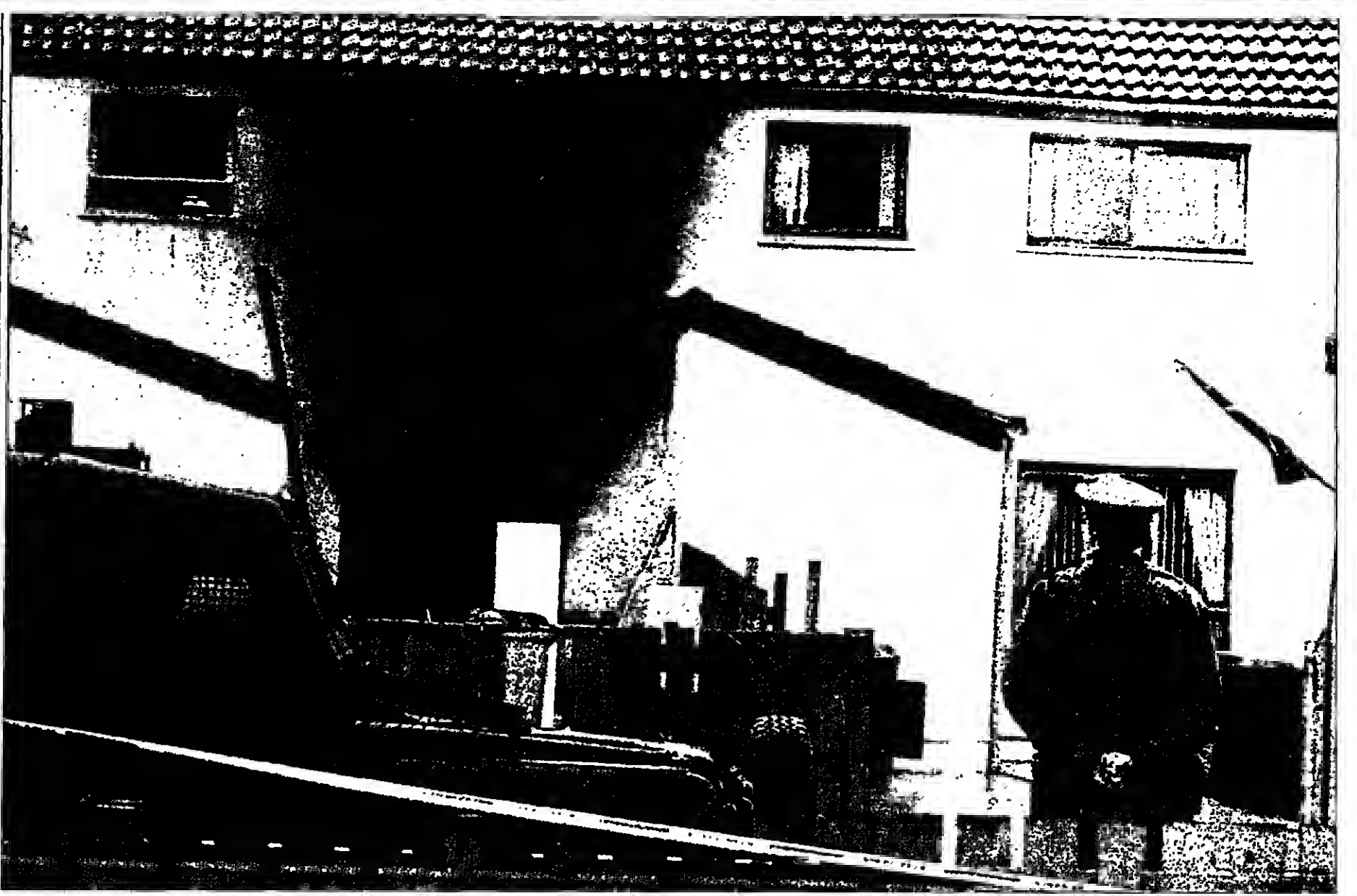
Did they feel bad at the deaths? "Of course. It's awful, but Protestants have suffered terribly over the last 30 years."

A Guardian straw poll at Drumcree revealed a unanimous intention to stay and near-unanimous horror at the Ballymoney murders. Many had said prayers for the Quinn brothers, others claimed the firebomb was motivated by reasons other than sectarianism.

Anguish at the deaths was tempered by a weary realism. "It's the worst possible thing that could have happened to us. It wasn't our fault but no one else is going to see that," said Paul Creen.

Such is the hatred for Brendan MacDonagh, spokesman for the Garvaghy Road Residents' Coalition, that many assumed he was celebrating the deaths. Republicans succeeded by being hard and ruthless. Unionists must do the same to survive.

An elderly couple packing belongings stressed that they were returning home to wash and change. "We'll be back, we're not running."



A police officer standing guard yesterday outside the house in Ballymoney, Co Antrim, where the three Quinn boys died in a petrol bomb attack

PHOTOGRAPH: KEVIN MAULEY

Loyalists target Catholic families

Arsonists/ Any one of 130 households might have suffered the Quinns' fate

John Mullan

THE ATTACK on the Quinn family in Ballymoney, Co Antrim, by no means came out of the blue. In one week, loyalists have mounted more than 130 arson attempts on Catholic families throughout Northern Ireland and any one of them might have suffered the same fate.

The Housing Executive, which deals with public housing, is rehousing more than 70 families, mostly Catholic. Several home-owners are

leaving their houses even though few have been destroyed.

The loyalists' aim is to persuade the RUC to overturn the Parades Commission's ruling banning the Orange Order from taking its traditional route back into Fort-de-down from the Church of Ascension, Drumcree. They managed to do so in 1996, the last time there was a ban, after shooting dead a Catholic taxi driver, Michael McGoldrick, aged 31.

The arsonists began their work before the Orangemen even left Carleton Orange

hall, Portadown, eight days ago. There were 10 overnight attacks on Catholic churches throughout Northern Ireland and three were destroyed.

Among them was St James's Chapel in Crumlin, Co Antrim. The 210-year-old church was the venue for the funeral of Claran Heffron, aged 22, a student murdered by the Loyalist Volunteer Force in April.

The LVF is suspected of being behind the attacks on the churches. It is also on the front line at Drumcree, and other paramilitaries are involved in the arson campaign. They have also targeted Catholic schools. Up to a dozen have been damaged by fire.

But police were always most worried about the attacks on homes. Senior RUC officers believed it was inev-

itable there would soon be fatalities but few imagined such a catastrophe.

Most of those targeted live in predominantly Catholic areas close to loyalist estates.

"I was able to put the fire out in a minute and a half. It seemed like an age"

Gerard and Madeleine Mulholland run the Marina Guesthouse on the seafront at Carrickfergus, 10 miles north of Belfast in Co Antrim.

Just around the corner is a large Protestant council estate. The red, white and blue bunting is complemented by

graffiti praising the paramilitaries. The terrace throughout the estate was pockmarked last week, the legacy of burning vehicles that had been hijacked and set alight.

The Marina Guesthouse's boarded-up front windows bear testimony to the three petrol bombs launched through the ground-floor window early on Wednesday. The family has been unable to sleep since.

They, at least, were prepared. Mr Mulholland, aged 39, said: "We were awake and had two extinguishers in the room. I was able to put the fire out in a minute and a half. It seemed like an age."

Sean and Joan Dowds live in Collingwood, a middle-class housing estate close to the sprawling loyalist Mourneview estate in Lurgan, Co Ar-

magh. Most people living there are Catholic, and it is half a dozen miles from Drumcree.

Eight bombs were set off there late on Wednesday. Three of the devices were placed on the Dowds' home: Mr Dowds, aged 68, is a Catholic, while his English wife, aged 54, is a Protestant.

Mr Dowds, who has suffered two heart attacks, was rushed to hospital with chest pains. It turned out to be angina. His wife has multiple sclerosis. Had the fire caught hold, she believes it would have been impossible for her to escape.

Mr Dowds said the Orange Order could not duck responsibility, however sincere its opposition to violence. "This has fallen squarely on their shoulders. It was done on their behalf," he said.

Splits emerge on consequences of 'vicious act'

Reaction/ Leaders join in condemnation but not action

Amelia Gentleman

POLITICIANS and spiritual leaders were united yesterday in condemning the deaths of the three children in Ballymoney, but divisions soon emerged over what conclusions could be drawn from the tragedy.

Tony Blair described the fatal arson attack as "an act of barbarism". He said: "Evil and vicious sectarian murders must not be allowed to triumph over the clear will of the majority of right and good

thinking people who want to pursue a future of peace for Northern Ireland."

David Trimble, Northern Ireland's First Minister, also condemned the "appalling act of barbarity" and called on the Orangemen to end their protest at Drumcree.

"I must say to the Portadown brethren that the only way in which they can clearly distance themselves from these murders and show to the world that they repudiate those who murder young children is to come down off the hill," he said.

The Irish prime minister, Bertie Ahern, said he too was "deeply shocked and saddened" by the deaths.

Plugging for restraint on all sides, he said: "Despite the pressures and fear that the nationalist community, understandably, are experiencing, I would ask them to remain calm, and that any protests during the current marching season should be carried out with dignity."

The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Armagh, the Most Rev Sean Brady, also appealed for calm after celebrating Mass on the Garvaghy Road. "I call on people this weekend to realise that violence does not achieve anything," he said. He hinted that any planned



Ronnie Flanagan: 'black day'

demonstrations should now be abandoned: "In this atmosphere of heightened emotion

it is very dangerous to be calling for people to assemble in large numbers on any side."

RUC Chief Constable Ronnie Flanagan said the deaths diminished the significance of continuing political protests and he appealed for both the Orange Order and the Garvaghy residents to take a fresh look at their priorities.

Describing yesterday as "the blackest" morning he could remember, he said: "People should reassess their position. I think the loss of life of three children as they slept in their beds changes everything."

The Democratic Unionist Party leader, Ian Paisley, who is also the local MP, joined in the condemnation, describing the deaths as a "terrible tragedy" and a "diabolical crime perpetrated by evil people". He made no comment on whether the protest should be abandoned.

Representatives of the Orange Order voiced their disgust at the violence, but Portadown district Orange Order spokesman David Jones said: "All the citizens of Northern Ireland are responsible."

He said the only way for violence to be brought under control would be to allow Orangemen to parade their traditional routes - if this was not permitted and the atrocities continued, then the blame would lie squarely with the Parades Commission, he said.

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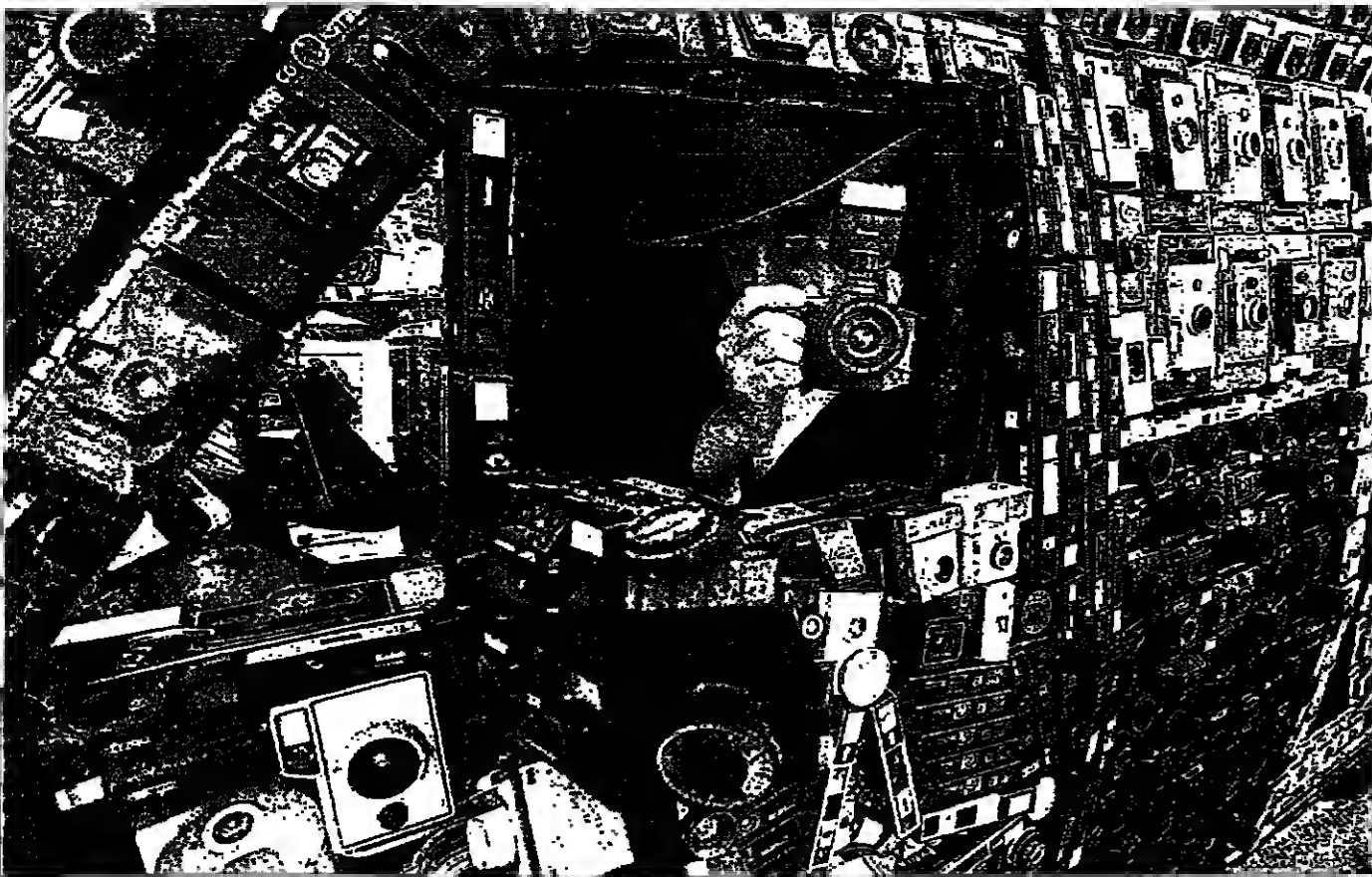
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Artist Harrod Blank prepares to take a photograph from his customised Dodge 'camera van' which sports more than 2,000 cameras. The Californian was in Bath taking pictures for an exhibition in a Drive-Thru gallery in London on July 27. PHOTOGRAPH: ROGER BAMBER

Baby dies after attack by pet dog

Luke Harding

DEFFECTIVES were last night investigating the death of an 11-week-old girl who was savaged by her parents' Alsatian at their home in South Wales.

Officers and an ambulance crew were called to the house in Caerphilly, yesterday, where Carly Jones was found with severe injuries.

She had been asleep in her cot when she was attacked. Her father, Marshall Jones, who was sleeping nearby on a settee in the lounge, raised the alarm. Her mother, Ann, was resting upstairs.

Carly was taken with a police escort five miles to East Glamorgan hospital in Pontypridd but was dead on arrival. The couple had been trying for years to have a baby before the birth of Carly — their only child — in April.

Mrs Jones' brother-in-law, Adrian Armitage, last night said the couple had been

"totally devastated" by the tragedy, adding: "Ann and Marshall absolutely worshipped and idolised Carly."

"Everyone in the family is shocked that something like this could happen. The dog was a loving family pet which they had since an eight-week-old puppy."

According to neighbours, the five-year-old German Shepherd was well cared for, and had always appeared docile and well behaved.

Mr Jones, aged 38, a maintenance engineer, christened the dog Dada, after the character from Star Trek, The Next Generation.

Mrs Jones, aged 40, is on maternity leave from her job with a supermarket chain in Caerphilly. Friends and neighbours, many of whom had bought or knitted clothes for Carly, were in tears yesterday. "I've known the family for some time and my heart aches for them," said Margaret Phillips, aged 78. "Everyone around here will tell you, they idolise the dog and the baby."

"They had the dog for some years before the baby was born. They would take it in turns to take the dog for walks. It was a good natured dog but I suppose when the baby arrived it is possible it became jealous."

Neighbour Peter Cave, aged 40, who has known the couple for more than 20 years, described them as lovely people. "They were ecstatic when they'd been trying for such a long time," he said. "They thought the world of her. I just can't believe this has happened to them."

"The dog was a real family pet and was well behaved. It had caused no trouble and was a perfect pet as far as everyone was concerned."

Mark Jennings, who lives next door to the Jones' terrace home, added: "I saw them soon afterwards but they were too upset to say anything. Ann was just standing there crying her eyes out. All the family were in tears."

The dog was later destroyed.

Puttnam angry over BBC post

Producer rejected as vice chairman says corporation needs 'creative component'

Helen Carter

LORD David Puttnam, the film producer, said yesterday that his bitter disappointment at being rejected for the job of BBC vice-chairman would not stop him applying again.

Lord Puttnam was the choice of the Culture Secretary, Chris Smith, an admirer of his film Local Hero, but Downing Street added other names to a shortlist for the part-time, £17,300-a-year job.

Lord Puttnam said yesterday: "I am thoroughly pissed

off. It is not often in life one feels uniquely qualified for a job — but this was one of those occasions. But I have not given up, I will apply again."

"Sir John Birt (the BBC director general) did a very good job when he was first there, but now it is over-managed and needs a creative component, and it is not being well led."

"I do not understand it. I get a sense that some oysters do not want any grit in them. I am bitterly disappointed, that sums up my feelings."

Lord Puttnam is thought to



Lord Puttnam: "I am bitterly disappointed" have been ruled out in discussions between the Minister without Portfolio, lost out

when a powerful alliance formed by Peter Mandelson, the BBC's chairman, Sir Christopher Bland, and Sir John Birt.

It is anticipated that the position will go to Gail Rebeck, the 46-year-old chief executive of the Random House publishing group and wife of Philip Gould, Tony Blair's trusted opinion pollster. It is thought that Lord Puttnam, aged 57, whose films have won him Oscars and BAFTA awards, fell out of favour because it was feared he would clash with Sir Christopher's and Sir John's style of management.

The vice-chairman's job is considered vital in deciding which direction the BBC will take, and Lord Puttnam's supporters say he would have

had a dramatic effect in revitalising the corporation. The person chosen will also be instrumental in deciding a new director general of the corporation when Sir John retires in March 2000.

Soon after he was made a working Labour peer last year, Lord Puttnam said he was keen to move away from films to education, and was passionate about the BBC job, which was held by the former Labour chief whip, Lord Cocks.

A spokeswoman for the Department for Culture, Media and Sport refused to comment on speculation about the choice of vice chairman. "An announcement will be made between now and the end of the month."

Druids rue lack of zest as bad weather goes on

Helen Carter

THE mystery of the dreary British weather has been solved: a group of druids say they did not put enough passion into their summer solstice sun dance.

As forecasters predict a miserable patch of weather will continue to rain and drizzle for the next few days, the druids are doing their best to stop the rain and high winds and have already carried out an extra mystical dance aimed at bringing out the sun.

Edward Prynn, arch druid of Cornwall, said: "I don't think we put enough effort into our sun dance on the solstice. We only danced for two hours because the weather was a bit dreary."

"The druids' sun dance involves a ritual of sprinkling burnt wheat to an ancient stone circle in the garden of the arch druid of Cornwall Mr Prynn's back garden in Padstow, Cornwall, and dancing.

"When we first did the sun dance in 1966 it worked very well and we had a lovely hot summer," he said.

"But we were dancing for four hours. On Friday we had another go when the moon was out and we will now have to wait and see what happens to the weather."

It is not like switching an electric light on and off. But we are confident it will work eventually."

Weather forecaster, Rob Bunn, of PA Weather Centre, said the weather had been caused by an unusual Atlantic jetstream which was directly over the British Isles, instead of in its normal position further north. "There will be no sense of summer at the beginning of the week," he said. "It is going to feel colder over the next few days and it will be showery, although there will be some sunspots."

Temperatures in the North today are unlikely to top 15C (59F), while the South will be slightly warmer at 20C (68F).



Tourists shelter under an umbrella and look out to sea on the seafloor in Sidmouth, Devon, yesterday. The poor weather sweeping Britain is expected to last until at least midweek. PHOTOGRAPH: TIM CUFF

Chaos fear over second Tube walkout

Seumas Milne
Labour Editor

THE second anti-privatisation strike on the London Underground kicked off last night when thousands of Tube workers began a 24-hour stoppage.

The walkout, called by the Rail Maritime and Transport union, is expected to cause greatest disruption to this morning's traffic. On the basis of last month's 48-hour strike, between a third and two-thirds of services could be cancelled and a dozen or more stations closed.

The dispute, which coincides with the 13th consecutive anti-cuts strike by Essex firefighters, is over RMT's demand for job security and pay and conditions guarantees in the track and signalling parts of the London Underground operation due to be transferred to the private sector.

Talks with LU management ended without agreement last week and the union may now seek a meeting with the Deputy Prime Minister, John Prescott, to press for all Tube workers to remain LU employees under his part-privatisation investment scheme.

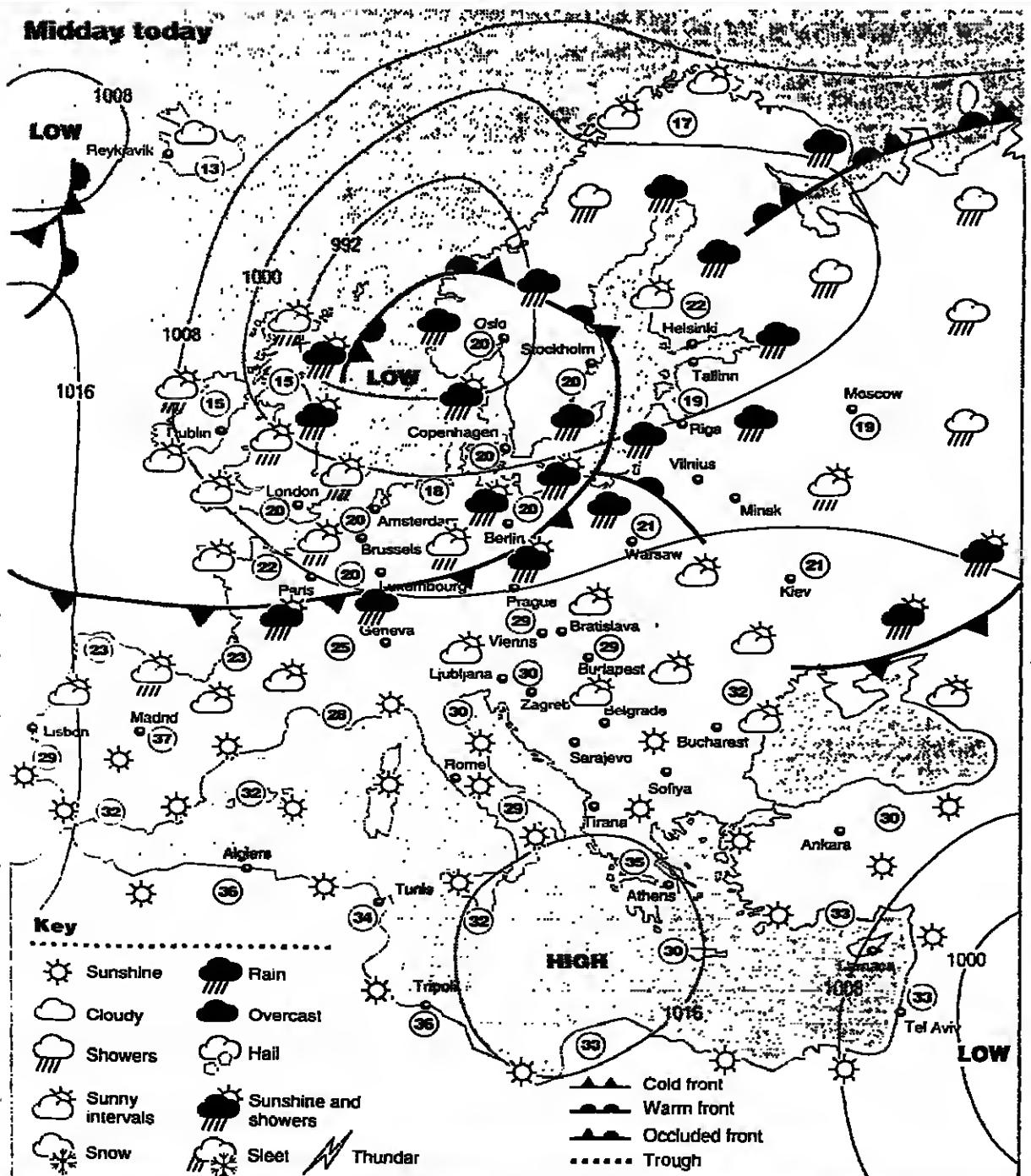
Simon Sperry, chief executive of the London Chamber of Commerce, accused the RMT of "potentially delaying plans to inject desperately needed funds."

But Bob Crow, RMT assistant general secretary, said LU management had refused to address the union's concerns in a "meaningful way".

Another London Chamber of Commerce spokesman said: "We don't think we put enough effort into our sun dance on the solstice. We only danced for two hours because the weather was a bit dreary."

"The druids' sun dance involves a ritual of sprinkling burnt wheat to an ancient stone circle in the garden of the arch druid of Cornwall Mr Prynn's back garden in Padstow, Cornwall, and dancing.

The weather in Europe



European outlook

Scandinavia: Southern Sweden and Norway will be mostly cloudy with spells of rain and a brisk breeze. Helsinki will have sunny spells, northern Finland will have outbreaks of rain. Meanwhile, Denmark will have some bright periods, but it will be generally cloudy with occasional heavy showers. Max temps 15-22C.

Low Countries, Germany, Austria, Switzerland: It will be unseasonably cool and breezy in the north with heavy showers and only limited sunny spells. Southern Germany, Austria and Switzerland will start dry with some warm weather, but will become increasingly cloudy with heavy showers this afternoon. Max temps 18-20C the north, but up to 29C in Austria.

France: Showers across much of the north this morning will spread southwards for this afternoon, reaching the Massif Central by the end of the day when some of the showers will be thundery. Further south will remain mild and sunny. Max temps 18-22C in the north, but up to 30C in the south.

Spain and Portugal: Most parts will have another fine day with plenty of hot sun. However, the north will cloud over with showers breaking out this afternoon. Max temps 20-24C in the north, but up to 30C on the Algarve and the south coast of Spain.

Italy: Another hot day for the whole country. However, the Dolomites may see some drizzle showers. Max temps 28-32C.

Greece: Sea-breezes will provide a little relief from the heat, but it will be another hot day on the islands and the mainland with few, if any clouds and strong sunshine all day. Max temps 30-35C.

Around the world

Yesterday's 24-hour time

City	Temp	City	Temp
Alger	24	London	17
Amsterdam	18	Los Angeles	23
Antwerp	18	Madrid	23
Athens	24	Moscow	18
Berlin	18	Mumbai	28
Birmingham	18	New Delhi	28
Bombay	24	New York	17
Buenos Aires	18	Osaka	21
Calcutta	24	Paris	18
Cardiff	18	Rangoon	24
Cape Town	18	Reykjavik	17
Cebu	24	Rio de Janeiro	17
Dhaka	24	Rome	18
Dublin	18	Sao Paulo	18
Edinburgh	18	Seoul	18
Hong Kong	24	Singapore	24
London	17	Sydney	17
Los Angeles	23	Taipei	24
Madrid	23	Tokyo	18
Moscow	18	Ulaanbaatar	18
Mumbai	28	Washington DC	18
New Delhi	28	Wellington	18
New York	17	Zurich	18
Osaka	21		
Paris	18		
Rangoon	24		
Reykjavik	17		
Rio de Janeiro	17		
Rome	18		
Sao Paulo	18		
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Singapore	24		
Sydney	17		
Taipei	24		
Tokyo	18		
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Washington DC	18		
Wellington	18		
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Television and radio

BBC 1

7.00am News, 8.00am News, 8.30am News, 9.00am News, 9.30am News, 10.00am News, 10.30am News, 11.00am News, 11.30am News, 12.00pm News, 12.30pm News, 1.00pm News, 1.30pm News, 2.00pm News, 2.30pm News, 3.00pm News, 3.30pm News, 4.00pm News, 4.30pm News, 5.00pm News, 5.30pm News, 6.00pm News, 6.30pm News, 7.00pm News, 7.30pm News, 8.00pm News, 8.30pm News, 9.00pm News, 9.30pm News, 10.00pm News, 10.30pm News, 11.00pm News, 11.30pm News, 12.00am News, 12.30am News, 1.00am News, 1.30am News, 2.00am News, 2.30am News, 3.00am News, 3.30am News, 4.00am News, 4.30am News, 5.00am News, 5.30am News, 6.00am News, 6.30am News, 7.00am News, 7.30pm News, 8.00pm News, 8.30pm News, 9.00pm News, 9.30pm News, 10.00pm News, 10.30pm News, 11.00pm News, 11.30pm News, 12.00am News, 12.30am News, 1.00am News, 1.30am News, 2.00am News, 2.30am News, 3.00am News, 3.30am News, 4.00am News, 4.30am News, 5.00am News, 5.30am News, 6.00am News, 6.30am News, 7.00am News, 7.30pm News, 8.00pm News, 8.30pm News, 9.00pm 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Lord Neill standards committee may set guidelines on lobbyists' contact with government, **Michael White** reports

Blair acts on 'cronyism culture'

Brown aide is leak suspect

TONY Blair is preparing to refer the role of Westminster and Whitehall lobbyists to Lord Neill's committee on standards in public life as the best way to defuse the "culture of cronyism" controversy and set guidelines for future contacts.

Some cabinet ministers, including Clare Short and David Clark, want a total ban on direct contact between government and lobbyists — preferring client companies to make their own representations — but senior ministers doubt that would be practical.

However, they admit the rules need clarification, as details surface of alleged leaks of budget secrets involving Gordon Brown's adviser, Ed Balls. Yesterday's Observer claimed that "faxes almost every day" went from the office of Peter Mandelson, Minister without Portfolio, to his former aide, Derek Draper's lobbying firm GPC Market Access.

The Home Secretary, Jack Straw, referred to "allegations and anecdotes". But Treasury sources yesterday confirmed the revelation that the department's then-permanent secretary, Lord Burns, complained to Number 10 about a leak on Labour's first Budget Day, July 2, 1997. Mr Balls was a chief suspect.

Yesterday Mr Straw hinted that Lord Neill may be drawn into the row over lobbyists' relationships with government.

Asked about imposing a quarantine on special advisers to Labour shadow ministers, some of whom joined private firms after the general election, Mr Straw told Radio 4's World This Weekend: "I'm not sure about that, although I think we ought to take advice from the Neill committee about that. What I am clear about is there have to be very tight rules about contact."



Ed Balls, right, adviser to the Chancellor, and Charlie Whelan, his spokesman. The Treasury suspected Mr Balls might be responsible for a budget leak

But the Guardian has learned that Mr Blair is prepared to refer the issue to Lord Neill if his cabinet secretary, Sir Richard Wilson, suggests it after completing his study of existing guidelines. He was asked to do so by the Prime Minister after revelations last week about lobbyists for three such firms

boasting of valuable inside contacts in the Government. A flurry of weekend allegations against special advisers prompted the shadow chancellor, Francis Maude, and the Tory party chairman-elect, Michael Ancram, to renew pressure for a full inquiry at both Number 10 and the Treasury, where Gordon

Brown's special adviser, Ed Balls, came under attack. Mr Ancram also called for the suspension of Roger Liddle, another ally of Mr Mandelson's and the main figure on the Downing St policy unit payroll who has been damaged by the "boastings" of young Labour staffers turned Westminster lobbyists.

Yesterday's allegations included: ● Confirmation by Mr Draper to the Observer that he did receive faxes, but no confidential ones, from Mr Mandelson's assistant, Benjamin Wegg-Prosser, a friend, and that he facilitated a meeting with a policy unit official inside Number 10.

● Allegations in a new book — Gordon Brown: The First Year in Power — that Lord Burns had suspected Mr Balls, the Chancellor's 31-year-old economic adviser, of leaking a key Budget detail to the FT.

● The Sunday Times also reported that Mr Blair attended a breakfast for Mr

Liddle's clients after he joined No 10 staff.

● The Sunday Express reported that Mr Balls did have lunch at the Savoy Grill with Mr Draper, and produced the £36 bill to prove it.

Peter Preston, page 12; Roy Greenslade, Media Guardian, pages 2-3

Tomorrow



Jean Michel Jarre on France, fascism, football — and Charlotte Rampling

'We ought to take advice from Neill about [letting advisers go straight into lobbying jobs]. What I am clear about is that there have to be very tight rules about contact'

Jack Straw
Home Secretary

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Promotion for Mandelson

Blair decided ahead of lobbying furore to give him department

THE Prime Minister has decided to promote Peter Mandelson to the Cabinet as a fully-fledged departmental minister rather than in the roving role of Cabinet Office progress-chaser, authoritative sources signalled last night.

The fallout from the row over lobbyists' efforts to cash in on their ministerial contacts has been seen as particularly damaging to the high-profile Minister without Portfolio, but Tony Blair's apparent change of heart is said to pre-date last week's furore. Some friends of Mr Mandelson

go as far as to claim that media criticisms of two of his protégés, ex-lobbyist turned Downing Street aide Roger Liddle, and ex-aide turned lobbyist and columnist Derek Draper, are partly-inspired by his ministerial rivals. In reality the whole Cabinet has been damaged by the incident which the Tories are busily labelling Labour's "culture of cronyism".

"Some journalists are obsessed with Peter Mandelson," the Home Secretary, Jack Straw, admitted yesterday. But so are some ministers and MPs who attribute supernatural powers to the



Peter Mandelson: 'object of journalists' obsession'

man who helped modernise Labour for Neil Kinnock and then became MP for Hartlepool in 1992.

Precisely what ministry Mr Mandelson would obtain in the imminent reshuffle remained a mystery last night. Until 10 days ago insiders assumed that Mr Blair would use the unpublished Wilson Report on the need to beef up the Cabinet Office to fulfil a promise to his trusted ministerial ally.

The job would entail the power to intervene on Number 10's behalf to ensure that Whitehall departments fulfilled New Labour's strategic objectives, well-suited to Mr

Mandelson's restless interests and presentational skills. He has always insisted he wants a proper job running something, while both Gordon Brown and John Prescott voiced strong reservations.

If the latest informed Whitehall gossip proves correct when Mr Blair reshapes his team, probably in the last 10 days of July, the post will now go to someone else. Margaret Beckett's name was mentioned yesterday on the grounds that Mr Mandelson would have her job as President of the Board of Trade. That seems unlikely, especially given the commercial sensitivity of trade matters to the lobbying industry, controversy over which has angered and embarrassed those ministers not privately delighted by their colleague's anger and embarrassment at awkward disclosures.

Mr Mandelson's name has also been linked to Chris Smith's job at Culture Media and Sport, an enjoyable post for the right person (it was designed for David Mellor), but not for most subsequent tenants. So far it has proved a graveyard. As for Social Security, where Harriet Harman's departure is widely expected, that too seems an improbable poisoned chalice for Mr Mandelson.

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Above: Bob Marley reminded Straw of marriage break-up

Straw's discs

- Selva morale e spirituale, Monteverdi
- Get Off My Cloud, The Rolling Stones
- Comfort Ye, from Handel's Messiah
- California Dreaming, Mamas and Papas
- No Woman No Cry, Bob Marley and the Wailers
- History, The Verve
- Trumpet Concerto in D, Telemann
- Extract from Così fan tutte, Mozart



Jack Straw's son and daughter chose The Verve's History for their father, although the chorus 'I've got a skinful of dope' was not heard on Desert Island Discs

Embarrassment of son's 'dope' incident replayed on Straw's desert island

Amelia Gentleman

JACK Straw could have been forgiven for feeling exasperated with his teenage children, William and Charlotte, yesterday when he discovered that the record they had selected for his appearance on Desert Island Discs includes the chorus:

"I've got a skinful of dope." Apparently oblivious to the lyrics of History, by The Verve, the Home Secretary asked for it to be played just as he finished describing how he dealt with the shock of his son being caught selling cannabis in a south London pub before Christmas.

Mr Straw had asked his children to choose a record

which would remind him of family life during his desert island exile. However, it was unclear yesterday whether the two had intended to embarrass their father with their streetwise choice.

"It will remind me of their music coming through the walls, and of my occasional pleas for the record marked 'silence' to be put on," he said

as he introduced the song to Radio 4 listeners. The programme cut back to presenter Susa Lawley before the offending chorus was broadcast.

Among the eight records chosen was No Woman No Cry, by Bob Marley (himself an enthusiastic dope smoker), which Mr Straw said made him think of the time his first marriage broke up. There was

also Get Off My Cloud by the Rolling Stones, and extracts from Mozart's Così fan tutte and Handel's Messiah.

Mr Straw spoke candidly about how he had dealt with his son's exposure by a journalist. He said he believed his son had been set up, adding: "That doesn't excuse what he did, which was both wrong and foolish."

But he had felt "very, very sorry" for William, who had been extremely worried about the trouble he caused his father. Said Mr Straw: "I kept saying: 'In a sense, I've landed you in it, because were it not for the fact that you're the son of the Home Secretary, this would be, at worst, just an ordinary police matter dealt with in an ordinary way.'"

Mr Straw, firmly opposed to legalisation of cannabis, ultimately displayed a very sympathetic approach to his son's predicament. "We didn't know that he was taking drugs, nor that he was involved in the sale of drugs. But I was 17 once, and to some extent when you're 16 or 17 you have to make your own mistakes."

A spokesman for the Home Secretary said the song had not been vetted before being submitted to the programme. "I don't think Mr Straw would have listened to every line of the song; his children chose it for him."

He dismissed the suggestion of a practical joke, saying: "They're just very keen fans of The Verve."

Brown deal on pensions in £30bn cash switch

Larry Elliott, John Carvel and Michael White

GORDON Brown will tomorrow unveil details of a major pre-election shift in public spending priorities when he diverts more than £30 billion towards health and education over the next three years — and targets a guaranteed minimum pension on a million of the elderly poor.

Though pensioners whose income is already above Mr Brown's declared minimum will not see such dramatic rises, those on the basic £64.70 — not claiming income support — would see their weekly income rise to £75 for single people from next April. £116.60 for a married couple, Whitehall sources indicate.

The Chancellor's report to Parliament on the year-long

further hurt manufacturing. If a recession materialises "we will be back to a soaring budget deficit," said the shadow chancellor, Francis Maude. But Mr Brown will insist tomorrow that his spending plans draw the right balance between financial prudence and politics, the need to make good Labour's commitments to health, education and poorer pensioners.

The promised increase in education spending will start next year and build up to £9-10 billion extra in 2001/2. That will honour the manifesto commitment to increase the proportion of national income spent on education, but it will not be enough to restore the share given to schools, colleges and universities after John Major's election victory in 1992.

It will allow Mr Blunkett to accelerate the programme to reduce class sizes for 5-7 year olds to a maximum of 30 by 2002.

Some Whitehall sources hinted last night that pension details may be delayed following the weekend leaks. But the Government intends to safeguard the principle of universal provision for everybody while focussing extra help on those most in need of help.

The likeliest outcome will be to re-badge income support to pensioners as a minimum pension guarantee, which would be increased in value.

The Tory decision in 1990 to sever the link between the state pension and earnings has meant that the elderly have not benefited from rising living standards, pensioners groups say. Ministers believe that the problem is only really acute for those pensioners reliant solely on state provision. The spread of occupational pensions has created a wealthy cadre among the elderly, they argue.

To assure markets that he intends to stay tough on spending controls, Mr Brown will chair a new cabinet committee that will scrutinise every quarter how the extra money is being spent.

Polly Toynbee, page 12



Environmental officer, Gavan Rostron, who will lead the sweep on the sand dunes at Cleethorpes on the Lincolnshire coast to identify unusual plant habitats. PHOTOGRAPH: BRUCE GREEN

Scientists target resort's dunes to find plant and wildlife rarities

Scientists are to search beyond the donkeys and beach umbrellas of a leading resort for rare plants and wildlife, writes Martin Wainwright.

The combining of unusual inland dunes at Cleeth-

orpes on the Lincolnshire coast is expected to add "significantly" to the national list of plant habitats.

Migrating birds will be tracked along with the colony of tenacious grasses

and flowers which survive in some of the country's most hostile surroundings. As well as the unstable sand, the plants have to cope with tourists tramping to the beach or sliding down the dunes' slopes.

"The Cleethorpes dunes are internationally important and one of few remaining habitats of their type," said Gavan Rostron, who heads the survey. "We expect to identify colonies of the southern marsh orchid,

strawberry and hare's foot clovers and lesser meadow rue, and establish how they are faring."

The £22,000 scheme will also survey the newer coastal dunes flanking Cleethorpes beach.

Scientist says CJD death toll is much higher

James Melville

A SCIENTIST will today claim that at least 16 more Britons may have died of the human form of BSE than the 27 official victims — and that they began dying 11 years before the first recognised case in 1995.

Harash Narang, made redundant from his government-funded job four years ago, believes the establishment has either blocked or undermined important tests into both the cattle disease and its transmission to humans.

Dr Narang, who believes that the human disease — known as new-variant Creutzfeldt-Jakob Disease — should be named after him, will today give oral evidence to the BSE inquiry.

The 56-year-old microbiologist alleges in a written statement that he was "victimised" by the Public Health Laboratory Service in Newcastle, and says he identified several patients with atypical symptoms from traditional CJD long before the new variant was announced in March

1996, and linked to the eating of infected beef.

The first acknowledged victim was Stephen Churchill who died aged 19 in May 1986.

Dr Narang claims he identified the condition, which follows a pattern of psychological problems, depression, instability, coma and death, in 1988. He says that the first death probably occurred in 1984 and involved people in their 60s as well as the mainly young people identified by the CJD Surveillance Unit in Edinburgh.

Dr Narang, whose work is now mainly supported by Ken Bell, a food company boss, claims he was ordered to stop experiments on possible transmission of BSE to humans in 1990. When he refused, the rodent involved were killed.

"Had these experiments been completed... and had the preliminary indications been confirmed we would have been in no doubt about the link between BSE and CJD and many lives could have been saved."

Dr Narang says research leaders also refused to fund his work that might have identified whether dead cattle

entering the food chain had BSE without displaying symptoms. Urine tests could also have been developed to test live cows for signs of BSE.

Dr Narang, who believes the infectious agent in BSE is a virus, says: "The Government should have kept an open mind and should have encouraged a wide range of approaches rather than shutting down any line of inquiry which did not conform."

The PHLS has denied any victimisation. It said it sought to bring his work to scientific and professional attention despite his "misconduct".

He was subject to two sets of disciplinary proceedings. The first was over "unsafe practices", for which he was given a written warning; the second was over "unauthorised investigations into CJD victims. The disciplinary investigation into the second case in 1993 found conduct that "justified instant dismissal" — but he was released from other duties to work in London while on PHLS pay.

He was made redundant in November 1994, and lost a claim for unfair dismissal.

John Carvel
Education Editor

A UNIVERSITY was accused yesterday of blackmailing the parents of successful final-year students by charging them to attend the graduation ceremony.

Nottingham university told parents they would not be admitted unless they paid £10 a head towards the cost of the event and strawberries and cream afterwards.

The university is part of an emerging "Ivy League" of elite establishments and is engaged in an ambitious expansion programme.

It has decided to introduce the attendance charge for parents and friends to conserve resources "in view of the budgetary pressures facing all universities".

Parents complained to the vice-chancellor, Sir Colin Campbell, that the charge was a public relations disaster that would backfire when families consider how to respond to the university's frequent appeals for donations. "While we appreciate the

universities' funding problems, we feel that to charge parents for the privilege of watching their offspring collect the fruits of all the years of support is beyond the pale", said Anne and Stephen Johns, whose younger son graduated from Nottingham last week.

The charge was "tantamount to blackmail". Parents who had saved to put their children through college would not feel able to stay away.

"We asked the graduation office whether we could forgo the frills and just attend the ceremony, but were told we could not. No money, no attendance. We know from other parents we are not alone in feeling exploited. It is not so much the £10 itself (though for some that indeed could be a problem) as the principle of the thing and the way it has been handled," the Johns said.

The university said it introduced the charge last year to "maintain the quality of graduation while ensuring that as much money as possible is spent on teaching, research and student facilities".

Other universities had started charging and many were considering doing so.

A university spokesman said 7,000 students had graduated since the charge was introduced and only a tiny number of people had objected. Parents got free parking on campus, tea or coffee on arrival, a printed programme, and strawberries and cream in the afternoon.

"We have tried to make graduation ceremonies more enjoyable, and the vast majority feel £10 is not excessive," he said.

Mrs Johns replied: "The university would be nothing without its undergraduates, most of whom would not be there were it not for the financial support of the parents — running into tens of thousands of pounds per student. The very least the university could do would be to thank us decently."

"Given the amount of time and money that seems to have been spent on wooing former alumni of the university — including both me and my husband — it seems pretty crass to follow it up with a PR gaffe on the scale of this one."

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مكتبة العصر

Learning is 'effort not ability'

Tim Radford on psychology in school

PSYCHOLOGISTS have discovered a surprising way to make children perform better at school — tell them they are clever. An easy way to make them do better is to congratulate them on working hard, according to studies published today in the *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. The usual belief is that praise for ability is likely to motivate a child, Claudia Mueller and Caroline Dweck of Columbia University in New York say they have discovered otherwise. They argue that children praised for their intelligence might get the idea that high test scores are more important

than actually learning and mastering something new. They gave 412 children of around 10 years old — white, black and Hispanic — a task in which they performed well. "Then some of the children were told, 'Wow you got eight right, that's a really good score, you must be really smart at this,'" said Dr Dweck. "Other children were told, 'Wow, that's a really good score, you must have worked really hard.'" Then they gave the two sets a choice: something new, important and difficult — which they might get wrong — or something they were sure to do well. "Of the intelligence-praised kids, the majority wanted to do something they were sure to do well, and keep

on looking smart," she said. "Of the effort-praised kids, 90 per cent wanted the challenging task where they could learn something." After a failure, children who had been told they were intelligent displayed less persistence, less enjoyment and worse performance than the other group. The same children also said they believed intelligence was a fixed trait, whereas the others tended to believe that ability could be improved by working hard. "We wondered whether praising intelligence could create this focus on being smart at all costs, and create this vulnerability when they hit difficulty," she said. "We found that the intelligence-praised kids, when they had difficulty, no longer liked it, no longer wanted to take it home, and said they did poorly because they were dumb." The finding is likely to interest teachers and parents who have watched children — especially girls — begin well but lose interest, and then perform listlessly. The studies also confirm the fragility of self-esteem, in that it can be boosted, and knocked down so easily, in one afternoon. Dr Dweck says she is not arguing that exam results are not important. "But the question is: when you do well, or don't, is that about your deep traits, or your worth, or the effort you put into it?" "The other thing is: what do kids care about? Do they care about just doing well? Or do they also care about learning, stretching themselves, being interested in things?"



Tests on 10-year-olds show praise for effort is of more benefit than praise for intelligence, which makes a child vulnerable

PHOTOGRAPH GARRY WEAVER

Row over Diana fund legal bills

Luke Harding

CONTROVERSY over the Diana, Princess of Wales memorial fund, was renewed yesterday when it emerged that it has set aside £3 million to pay legal bills. The fund, which has been embroiled in disputes since authorising the use of Diana's signature on tube of margarine, yesterday defended the move — and said it was "extremely unlikely" all the money would be spent. The cash will go to the legal firm, which represents the princess's estate and its executors — including her mother and sister. The fund has already been involved in a similar controversy. Six months ago it emerged its other firm of lawyers, Mishcon de Roy, had run up bills of £500,000 in 11 weeks. Last night Amanda Clow, a fund spokeswoman, described the payment to solicitors Lawrence Graham as an "investment", which ensured the princess's image and intellectual property rights were not abused. "If we did not have the authority from the estate to police the princess's image, we would not have been able to make the £30 million that we have made already," she declared. So far £250,000 had been paid to Lawrence Graham, but the final bill would be less than £1 million, she said. Andrew Purkis, the fund's

chief executive, also defended the move, adding: "We have to pay a fee to the estate so that they can do their job properly." Some of the sting is likely to be taken out of the row by the fact that the money set aside for legal bills does not come out of public donations but from commercial income from licensing official Diana products. The expenses have been clocked up through work on protecting Diana's intellectual property rights — her image, signature, letters, speeches and voice. Andrew Dobson, the senior partner at Lawrence Graham dealing with Diana's affairs, yesterday admitted he billed the estate for his time, adding: "What I charge is entirely a matter between me and the estate. It is only right that they pay some expenses. It is money the fund would not have if we had decided not to give them the rights." The fund has been dogged by controversy recently following criticism from Earl Spencer who described its activities as tacky and suggested it should be wound up. But he is said to have become reconciled to its money-making activities. The fund has shrugged off the criticism and has announced that it intends to carry on indefinitely. The six charities with which the late princess was closely involved have already been awarded £1 million each, and more grants are in the pipeline.

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online

Every Thursday in the
The Guardian

Blair man true to his northern roots

Lucy Ward meets Labour MP Gerry Sutcliffe, just a few days younger than the PM but with a very different background

SOMEWHERE between the 1992 general election and Labour's 1997 landslide, the Bradford South MP, Gerry Sutcliffe, and a party colleague sat out one evening on the House of Commons terrace, sipping their pints and chatting. Both had three children, both represented Northern constituencies and both, they discovered, had been born in May 1953, within a week of one another. But as they compared children's ages, Tony Blair interrupted his fellow MP, amazed that his two eldest boys could be in their twenties while his own were not yet teenagers. His eyes widened further as Sutcliffe explained that he had married at 19 — while the future Prime Minister was enjoying his first year at Oxford.

The mutual wonder neatly encapsulates two widely divergent elements of New Labour. While Blair, the son of a self-made Conservative, was studying for his A Levels at Edinburgh's private Fettes College, Sutcliffe — growing up in the birthplace of the independent Labour Party — had opted out of grammar school at 16 ("I only did well at football") and was working in Bradford's Brown and Muff's department store, measuring customers for suits.

The Bradford South MP's journey to Westminster took far longer than his Sedgefield counterpart's, but in the summer of 1994, shortly after winning the late Bob Cryer's seat at a by-election, he was ac-

tively supporting Blair's party leadership campaign. And, should anyone doubt his commitment to the project, he has spent the last 14 months loyally labouring in one of the least envied jobs in the Government, as political aide to the beleaguered Social Security Secretary, Harriet Harman. The job required a safe pair of hands, and who better than the goalkeeper of the Commons football team?

There are those who say that Sutcliffe's willingness to back the Blair line represents a readiness to betray his working class roots to further reportedly fierce political ambitions. "Going with Blair and not Prescott for leader didn't go down well in the constituency," says one Bradford observer. "But he likes to be on the winning side, does Gerry. He's adaptable, a chameleon, but he's very amicable, so he gets away with it."

"He had a prickly time of it over cutting single parent benefit," says another. "He got a pretty full postbag, but I think they've forgiven him."

Ask Sutcliffe if he's sold out, and he'll point to more than two decades of unbroken commitment to the trade union movement, starting in an early job at a Bradford foundry where he joined the AEU, and culminating in his current chairmanship of the Commons trade union group. Spotting his potential as a young shop steward at Fields printers, Sogat sent him first to Bradford College and then on to Ruskin College, Oxford. He joined the Labour Party

and, with the encouragement of union mentors, became a local councillor, campaigning on wages issues. Only in 1994, with his move to Westminster, did he step down after 14 years as Sogat/GPMU deputy branch secretary.

Labour's first year in office, with its struggles towards compromise over the Fairness at Work white paper and the minimum wage, might have divided the loyalties of this modernising union man. Sutcliffe accepts that the decision to impose a threshold of at least 40 per cent of employees in support to permit union recognition and to exempt small businesses from new rules are significant concessions, and admits to "bitter disappointment" over the decision to accept only a qual-

ified version of the recommendations of the Low Pay Commission. Pin him down and he will warn that the tendency pushing for an even tougher settlement risked leading the party down a road he could not have justified on the chop floor.

But there were those who feared "a lot worse", and the TUC gave the Fairness at Work package a broad welcome. The onus now is on the unions "to get out and recruit and show their worth and value to new members".

Unions, he argues, have changed, becoming more "customer oriented" and efficient. Sutcliffe, representing a city which lost 22,000 jobs in four years in the 1980s, is ready to talk new unions rather than no unions.

He applies the same approach to reform of the party, remembering years of internal battles fighting Militant in the 1980s while Eric Pickles — whom he now bumps into in the Commons tea room — set out as Tory council leader to create Bradford plc. Labour had become elitist, Sutcliffe says. "We didn't take people with us. We had trendy Wendys and Nigels who enjoyed spouting left-wing politics which they had never lived, and who didn't want people in the party who didn't understand procedure. It became a talking shop, but I wanted to get things done, to see change. I signed up for New Labour on that basis. When the party had been formed in Bradford in the 1990s, people pushed out bar-

riers, they did something different. We were in danger of living on the history of those people's exploits and not being prepared to aim for new challenges ourselves."

Sutcliffe, never a slick-suited party man, insists new Labour can pass the Bradford test — affecting the lives of people living on some of the most deprived estates in the country. "It will take time. The chattering classes will measure it by the dialogue. Others will measure it by the actions and the delivery, and changes like Fairness at Work mean real improvements."

The same impulses persuaded him to back Blair, "though we're like chalk and cheese in the sense of backgrounds". Yes, he acknowledges. "He is a politician like

we all are, wheeler dealers and schemers, but he believes it. He wants to see real change and that will do for me."

Over a year after the general election, the Bradford South MP is, understandably, looking less careworn than the leader born just seven days before him, though his mildly mournful expression has deepened occasionally when his boss, Harriet Harman, has been most under fire. He has stuck by her, loyally putting her case when she was left alone to defend the lone parent benefit cut. "She was unnecessarily exposed by others who could have supported her," he says.

Colleagues admire his style. "He's open, honest, and not at all hierarchical," says one. With his union hat on, mean-

while, he has had a busy year in the backroom, fixing and dealing, without emerging into the spotlight. Combined, the achievements could see him promoted in the imminent reshuffle.

Sutcliffe's fixing talents and football enthusiasm came together during the World Cup, with a scheme to buy a giant screen television for MPs to watch matches in the comfort of a Westminster conference room. Even the Prime Minister came in to see the Scotland-Brazil opening game and was duly charged £5. "We've got 62 stakeholders, we've more than covered the costs at no public expense and now we'll probably auction the set off for charity," he says. Can't get more New Labour than that.



Life and times

- Born: May 13, 1953
- Educated: Cardinal Hinsley Grammar School, Bradford
- Family: married with three sons
- Career: deputy branch secretary, Sogat/GPMU 1980-84. Salesperson, Brown and Muff, Bradford; display advertising, Bradford Telegraph & Argus 1972-75; Field Printers 1975-80. Bradford Council 1982-84, leader 1982-84.
- Commons: elected June 1994. Since May 1997, PPS to Harriet Harman. Chairman, Commons Trade Union Group.

Bradford South MP Gerry Sutcliffe: A trade unionist supporter of change who loyally stood by embattled Harriet Harman when others had left her alone

PHOTOGRAPH: GRAHAM TURNER

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مكتبة الامير

Cult of the bull



Runners stay ahead of the stampede at the weekend as an American promoter mounts a desert version on the Arizona-Nevada border of the famous annual bull runs in Pamplona, Spain. PHOTOGRAPHS: MARK TERPILL

Lure of running steers brings human herd to Arizona desert

Maria La Ganga
in Mohave county, Arizona

IT WAS not what Ernest Hemingway had in mind when he waxed poetic about Spain's running of the bulls — about foot-hardy men and reckless women, about toreadors, bravado and drunken revelry, about lost love and the Lost Generation.

But the Mesquite desert in Mohave county, on the Arizona-Nevada border, became a poor man's Pamplona at the weekend when nearly 700 people — mostly men hurtling towards middle age — grabbed at the chance to run with the thundering herd.

"I want the adrenaline rush. I told my ex-wife nine years ago that I wanted to go to Spain and do this. She and the marriage counsellor said I was crazy," said Joe Griest, a 40-year-old carpenter

from Boulder City, Nevada, who ran with the bulls twice, as his adoring new wife and six children cheered.

In a bit of pre-run bonding, Ernie Romero of California reached out to pat a bull and said: "I'm 50, and once you get to this point in your life, you gotta do something."

The qualifying conditions for participation in what promoters described as the first bull run on American soil were few: contestants had to be at least 21, pay a \$50 (£30) fee and not be visibly drunk — and want to put themselves in the way of 1,500lbs of fast-moving beef.

Promoter Phil Immordino called Saturday's event a "wild party". He added: "I want some action. I want some close calls. If someone gets thrown up on the fence, it's not gonna hurt my feelings."

But it was the spectators who suffered most. More than a dozen were treated for dehydration, caused by the 39F (102F) heat and the effects of the close proximity of Mesquite city, where casinos serve alcohol day and night.

That said, one runner was lightly gored as he raced down the quarter-mile course in the swirling dust of the first of two heats, with a dozen mixed-breed bulls and about 300 runners.

"I cheated death, that's what it felt like," said Justin Hayes, aged 28, afterwards. "At least until I realised there were no more bulls behind me."

Briton injured in Pamplona ring

A BRITISH man was seriously hurt yesterday when he was twice tossed into the air on the horns of a bull at the end of the famous running of the bulls festival in Pamplona, Spain.

Medical authorities in

the Basque city said Paul Hagger, aged 21, was in a stable condition in intensive care. He was injured in the huddle, where some bulls are released after their stampede through the streets. — Reuters.

the run last year. They claim he planned to use cowboys with electric cattle prods to get the bulls running. He denies the accusations.

The Humane Society of the United States, which encouraged people to complain about the run to Mesquite's authorities, and the federal and Nevada governments, claims some credit for forcing the event to its remote location, after Phoenix in Arizona and Long Beach, California, rejected the idea.

Although Mesquite city council approved the plan, the Nevada transport department rejected the use of Mesquite Boulevard. So the run was moved to a ranch and gun club just over the border, in Arizona.

Wayne Facelle, of the Humane Society, said: "Among events involving people and animals, this is not the cruellest, but it is the stupidest." — Los Angeles Times.



Spain peels off writer's mask

Adela Gooch in Madrid

TO MANY Spaniards, Ernest Hemingway is the archetypal *guri* — a pejorative term for a foreigner fascinated by Spain's biggest clichés — bullfights, castanets and carnations.

But the centenary of the novelist's birth — celebrated 99 rather than 100 years after it took place, respecting the lie he told so he could join an American ambulance unit in the first world war — is providing an opportunity to reveal his more complex personality.

An exhibition of photographs and memorabilia that opened in Madrid this month looks beyond the hard-drinking, womanising persona that Hemingway sought to project.

It credits him with countering the isolation brought about by General Franco's rightwing dictatorship, opening the country to an international audience through his novels.

Hemingway's sympathy for the losing Republican side in Spain's 1936-39 civil war, which he covered as a correspondent, led to the Franco censors forbidding publication of his war novel *For Whom the Bell Tolls*.

Franco's victory kept Hemingway away from Spain for 15 years but he returned in the 1950s to make it his second home.

Before he committed suicide on July 2, 1961, he was planning to attend the bull runs in Pamplona that summed up his fascination with Spain.

"He liked the collective ecstasy of a town going mad during the fiesta," said José Luis Castillo Puche, a friend who was behind the new exhibition.

But in an introduction to the exhibition he adds: "The arrogance with which he lived his life and his triumphalism were just a mask to hide his weakness, his insecurity and his fear of death."



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Japan's devastated prime minister set to quit after crushing poll loss

Jonathan Watts in Tokyo

JAPAN'S prime minister, Ryutaro Hashimoto, was set today to announce his resignation after a devastating defeat for the ruling Liberal Democratic Party in yesterday's upper house election.

As results in the early hours revealed an unexpected heavy loss of seats in a poll that was seen as a referendum on the prime minister, a weary and grim-faced Mr Hashimoto said: "I am responsible. I have a heavy responsibility."

He said he would confirm his intention at a meeting of LDP executives this afternoon. "It is up to me to decide. As a politician I must decide my future," he told reporters.

The state-run NHK channel said the comments amounted to a decision to stand down.

'I am responsible - I have a heavy responsibility. But it is up to me to decide about going. As a politician I must decide my future'

With all the votes counted, the LDP had won only 44 seats, well short of the 61 mark that was seen as the make-or-break level for Mr Hashimoto. Half of the 252 seats in the House of Councilors, the weaker of the two chambers in the country's parliament, were up for re-election. At the start of the campaign, the LDP had hoped to win 69, which would have given it an overall majority.

Although the LDP retains control of the more powerful lower house, the search for a new leader is expected to herald a period of political instability and distract the ruling party from efforts to tackle the problems which the world's second largest economy is facing.

High on the agenda is a visit later this month to Washington, where Mr Hashimoto was to discuss the Asian financial crisis with President Clinton.

The LDP must now decide whether to send Mr Hashimoto as a lame duck, appoint a new leader or cancel the summit.

After gaining power in January 1996 on a wave of expectation that he could lift Japan out of depression, Mr Hashimoto has seen his popularity plummet this year amid a series of bribery scandals and a deepening recession.

The banking sector is near to meltdown, bankruptcies are rising and unemployment has hit a record high of 4.1 per cent. Many voters blame the prime minister's decision to raise the consumption tax last year for what is commonly dubbed the "Hashimoto recession".

During the campaign the prime minister, who fought on the slogan "Trust me, trust the LDP", was unable to repair the damage of earlier mistakes.

"We did all we could," he said of the government's economic record. "But our efforts were misunderstood by voters." He said he had been forced to fight the upper-house election with one eye on the markets.

The result was a victory for the Democratic Party of Japan, which won 27 seats in its first election campaign since being established in March.

The main opposition party's leader, Naoto Kan, who most Japanese would like to see as the next prime minister, said the electorate has issued a mandate for change.

"Our party has a short history, but the electorate has now given us a great opportunity," he said. He has made a name for himself by exposing corruption in the bureaucracy.

The turn-out, at more than 50 per cent, was significantly higher than during the last election in 1995. Analysts said this was a sign of the electorate's desire to punish the government for its handling of the economy.

Reflecting that trend, the Japan Communist Party, which has doubled its representation, to 15 seats, to come third in the poll.

"The people of Japan have handed down a judgment on Mr Hashimoto and the LDP. They should stand down," said the Communist party chairman, Yutaro Kawa.

Fears of political turmoil are expected to put renewed pressure on Japan's currency and stock markets today.



A stern-faced Hashimoto sits in the Liberal Democratic Party headquarters last night after the ruling party's poor showing in the upper house elections. PHOTOGRAPH BY ISUO INOUE



Keizo Ohuchi: favourite to succeed Hashimoto



Koichi Kato: may be seen as too close to failed PM



Seiichi Kajiya: 'vice-shogun' of Japanese politics

Long and damaging power struggle ahead

The contenders/ Jonathan Watts weighs the chances of the main rivals

HEAVYWEIGHTS in the ruling Liberal Democratic Party lined up last night to take advantage of the prime minister's humiliating loss of what amounts to a confidence vote in the upper house.

Despite steadily declining support in opinion polls, Ryutaro Hashimoto has been hanging on to his job because few other candidates were willing to take on the messy task of clearing up the financial system. But, after yesterday's election, the LDP was left with little choice but to find a new leader.

With no successor obvious, a factional battle is in prospect between nationalist hawks and the moderates who pulled the LDP back into power by forming a coalition with its former ideological opponents, the Social Democratic Party (SDP). This distraction could not come at a worse time for the government, which is set to debate crucial measures to try to lift the world's second biggest economy out of its deepest recession in decades.

This makes the 71-year-old foreign minister, Keizo Ohuchi, favourite to succeed Mr Hashimoto. As head of the LDP's biggest faction, he has the powerbase needed to push

through legislation. Although a member of the old guard, he holds moderate views, making him acceptable to both wings of the party.

But the popular perception of him is a colourless politician controlled by the former prime minister and LDP kingmaker, Noboru Takeshita. This lack of charisma could count against him as the LDP seeks support before a general election, which some analysts say could be called as early as next year.

Another obvious contender is Koichi Kato, aged 59, who has been in the political limelight for most of the past two years as the prime minister's right-hand man. A Harvard-educated former diplomat, Mr Kato was a key player in the LDP's decision to ally with the SDP to form a government in 1994. As party secretary-general, he has since been credited with restoring the LDP's majority in the powerful lower house.

But he has no experience in any of the main cabinet posts and his proximity to the prime minister means he will find it difficult to evade responsibility for yesterday's debacle. Such criticism is certain from members of the nationalist wing, whose leaders include Seiichi Kajiya, known as the vice-shogun of Japanese politics. As an architect of the government's 30 trillion yen (\$1.95 billion) financial stabilisation package, Mr Kajiya, aged 70, may win support as the man best equipped to deal with the economic crisis.

But he would be viewed with alarm by Washington, where he caused a row by comparing black people to prostitutes, and China, where he has been condemned for trying to whitewash the Japanese army's sexual subjugation of local women during the second world war.

With half a dozen other possible candidates, deciding a successor could drag on, leaving a power vacuum that analysts say would be calamitous.

"In the short term, the turmoil in Japan can only worsen with the demise of Mr Hashimoto," said Takeshi Sasaki, professor of political science and dean of Tokyo University. "It will hold up progress on tax reform and measures to clear up the banking sector. It could also mean an unproductive summit in Washington."

In the past, he said, the LDP has spent up to two months choosing a leader. "Now, though, Japan does not have the luxury for such a delay. The electorate has sent a clear message that the party is over. We need real leadership."

Dashing blade who lost his edge

The man/ Jonathan Watts on the politician who went from hero to zero

WHEN Ryutaro Hashimoto became prime minister in January 1996, it seemed Japan finally had a leader assertive enough to pull the country out of its slump.

With an Elvis-style quiff and a sense of humour that led him to brandish a kendo bamboo sword at US trade representative Mickey Kantor, he seemed to be everything his short-lived predecessors were not: a charismatic, combative and dynamic statesman.

After just two and a half years, the same man is on the verge of timidly creeping out of office, having seen his stock sink among world lead-

ers, international markets and the electorate.

Expectations, perhaps, were always too high. What the world saw as independence and decisiveness came across in Japan as aloofness and arrogance, particularly when he appointed a convicted bribe-taker to his cabinet last September - a mistake from which his ratings never recovered.

Despite his background - a political aristocrat from a family of Liberal Democratic Party politicians - Mr Hashimoto was unable to build his own support base within the ruling party. As a result, the ambitious administrative reform plans which were to

have been the centrepiece of his premiership fell victim to the shadow shoguns, the faction leaders who pull the strings within the LDP.

His administration was also plagued with scandal. Mr Hashimoto avoided allegations of an affair with a suspected Chinese spy, but his finance minister and the governor of the Bank of Japan were forced to step down after revelations that banks and brokerages had bribed financial inspectors.

The main reason for his downfall, however, is the sharp deterioration in the economy, which, according to the latest quarterly data, is contracting at more than 5 per cent per year. Flip-flops on tax reform and a lack of progress on clearing up the banking sector have led to steadily falling share prices, a

weakening of the yen and increasingly critical rebukes from Washington.

Despite some success in foreign affairs, most notably with Russian president Boris Yeltsin towards completion of a second world war peace treaty and a resolution of the thorny issue of the northern territories, Mr Hashimoto's tenure - the longest this decade - is likely to be remembered as a missed opportunity to take the drastic action needed to lift Japan out of the doldrums.

In his maiden speech upon taking office, Mr Hashimoto, who has also been finance and trade and industry minister, recognised the challenge, saying: "The most crucial task facing this government is to revive the economy." His failure to live up to this challenge has cost him dear.

Barefoot warriors grab power plant and hold Fiji soldiers at spearpoint

Catherine Adams in Suva

THE FIJIAN army is besieged at spearpoint by tribal fighters since the military coup of 1997, occupying the country's main hydroelectric power station to back a demand for \$10 million from the government for land they lost to the project when it began 15 years ago.

In the trickiest civil disturbance in the idyllic tropical islands since the military coup of 1997, villagers living around the Mmasava dam have sworn to fight to the death for the "rent" they want. The site

supplies 90 per cent of Fiji's electricity.

Two hundred soldiers and riot police are positioned in a line behind roadblocks created by tribesmen, and allowed into the station only under the escort of barefoot warriors.

"We have the power. We can beat the gun," said Moustachioed Chief Adria Vautoga, spokesman for the area's 3,500 people.

"We are going to fight with spears, axes and clubs," he said. Behind him warriors held aloft 10ft sharpened bamboo spears.

The landowners' three-week occupation of Fiji's

most prestige development project comes as the government is beset by sabotage of the country's crucial sugar cane harvest.

Hundreds of tons of cane have been burnt by farmers demanding subsidies following drought, the devaluation of the Fiji dollar and the withdrawal of European Union sugar concessions.

The government has been playing down the Mmasava dispute, insisting that compensation for the villagers was invested for them, and that chiefs agreed to this.

Even so, a cabinet subcommittee is reviewing the people's claims and is expected to make a cash offer in the next couple of days.

One official suggested that the tribesmen may have chosen to press for more money now because an election is coming and because the area has been hit by drought.

But the hardline Fijian nationalist opposition party, Vana Tako Lavo, said people were ready to "rise up" and overthrow their rulers.

Residents of around 50

villages still not connected to the power supply near their homes say they have not received money promised by the government for leasing their land. Comments attributed to the prime minister, Sitiveni Rabuka in which he called the landowners "unreasonable", appear to have inflamed the dispute.

"They've waited for years. I do not see why they can't wait a little more," Mr Rabuka was reported to have told a local paper.

Journalists and government officials were initially welcomed by the protesters, and invited into their huts to drink kava, made from plant roots. Now popular in California as a health drug, it is a root ground up to produce a mildly intoxicating drink.

But, increasingly frustrated by events, Chief Vautoga is now charging for interviews and warning the government that if it pays anything less than \$10 million there will be bloodshed.

"If we die, who's going to fight for this? It's time to make a stand for our kids, for the future," he said.

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When the Chancellor rises in the Commons he will map out more surely than ever before the direction of this Government.

Polly Toynbee

Comment, page 12

It's worth a double take.

Comment

e-mail

Alex Duval Smith
@ Johannesburg

THE black shop assistant thought it a strange request: a fridge-freezer without locks on the doors. "Why wouldn't you want locks?" he asked. "Why would I want them?" I responded. "The maid..." he replied. Dorah is my maid. She came with the house I rent. But I call her the housekeeper because it makes me feel better. Domestic worker would be even more PC; domestic servant would be almost as politically incorrect as girl or gardeo boy — sometimes used for a 70-year-old man. I am addressed by my first name and my mother, when she came for a visit, was granny. But the reality of employing someone who makes your bed and does the laundry, soon ceases to revolve around terminology.

Dorah, 10 years my senior, has a husband, Solomon, and four children: Dimakatso, Sidney, Gigi and Pete. Her three sons live in one leaky outhouse at the bottom of my garden. Dorah, Solomon and two-year-old Dimakatso live in a township. Dorah and her family are black, I am white. I have six rooms and work for the Guardian. Shocking, isn't it?

Yes and no. The salary I pay Dorah is less than half my rent and about 10 per cent of what I earn. She has no written contract. But she does not work full-time for me and I pay twice the going rate. She does not work weekends and, unusually, has paid holidays. This was decided by my predecessors at the house, also British. Sidney, 17, lives in my out-house so he can go to school in my trendy area, Melville. Gigi and Pete, 23 and 24, live there because they are looking for work and more likely to get it than if they had a township address. When Gigi hurt his back, I paid for the doctor. When Pete broke a friend's mobile phone, I advanced him the money for the repair.

In return, Gigi and Pete make sure my car is always shiny and the borders of the flower beds are dead straight. Their presence is a comfort because Johannesburg is the world's most dangerous city, or so I am told at dinners where (mostly) white people bitch about their servants.

THE first thing Dorah said when we met was: "Here, everything is about money." It is also about living in a country where, for years, there was no such thing as society as we know it in Europe.

The new South Africa has a domestic workers' trade union and even a minimum wage. One of its richest entrepreneurs, Doo Ncube, used to be a "garden boy". Madam And Eve, a newspaper cartoon about a white woman and her increasingly emancipated black maids, providing one of the most pertinent commentary.

Everybody is renegotiating their relationship with everyone else, and it will take some time before whites realise how lucky they were not to have had a violent revolution.



Throw money at these youngsters: we can save a fortune in the end

Polly Toynbee



IN TWERTON, the most deprived area of Bath, plagued with crime and drugs, half the population is long-term unemployed and twice as many children fall their three-year-old developmental tests. Two years ago the First Steps Nursery opened through the sheer determination of local people, with no help from the local authority. In microcosm, its fate is as good a test as any of the effectiveness of tomorrow's mighty comprehensive spending review.

When the Chancellor rises in the Commons he will map out more surely than ever before the direction and purpose of this Government. After examining the e-mails of every Whitehall department, scrutinising every penny spent, he will lay out the new priorities. Headlines will talk macro figures, pondering the winners and the losers in the cabinet game. But in the end what becomes of projects like the First Steps Nursery will tell us more.

Pauline Hatherill, a local mother and playgroup organiser, together with other mothers, health visitors and nursery nurses, saw that the poorest part of the city had nothing for young families. They raised enough money locally, with some lottery funds, to pay for the first three years. It runs on the playgroup principle with projects for mothers, drawing in isolated women with parenting groups, adult literacy and IT courses, offering child-care from eight to six each day. Now it helps 35 families a week and already 25 mothers have been inspired to take college courses, while 35 have got jobs who had no chance to work before. But the

money runs out in December when it will close. It's a highly praised beacon project, cheap and cost effective — but it doesn't belong to any department. It crosses every boundary, doing exactly what's needed on the ground, combining health, education, day care and social work support for families on the edge. But when the scheme applied for funds from local social services, they returned the application saying it belonged to the education budget. When they tried to get education, they were told it was a social services matter. They didn't get a penny.

Part of the comprehensive spending review tomorrow will be the Treasury's "early years review". It's a sign of the Treasury's growing role in what used to be the domain of the Treasury itself has taken up this muddle and confusion. For early years crises cross through government, from health and education, to the social exclusion unit, "worst estates project", and Jack Straw's ministerial group on the family. Voluntary organisations have scoured from department to department giving evidence to various task forces, as they watch their hard-pressed family centres and programmes for deprived young children fall into the same black hole as the First Steps Nursery.

This Government is serious about social policy. It's what fires and motivates most of them. It's what they like best, and it's what's best about them. The reason for this plethora of task forces is that whatever social problem a department begins to examine, it leads them back inexorably to young children. Crime, ill

health, school failure, unemployment, lack of skills — the more they seek out the causes, the more they are drawn back to the roots of problems.

Some of the key intellectual underpinning for this comes from the Home Office, where Chris Nuttall, head of research, has been saying for years that what works in crime reduction is not prisons, but nursery schools. His words fell on stony Tory ears, but now everyone is quoting him, including the top Treasury official running the early years review. Nuttall likes to quote the US High/Scope research, where deeply deprived three-year-olds in high crime areas were given two years' intensive nursery schooling. It isn't reading and writing, chalk and talk, but cognitive teaching, learning to think. Children from chaotic, unpredictable homes learn to plan, describe and evaluate their play, consider and discuss actions and co-operation. That's why nursery involvement, teaching mothers alongside children.

THOSE children have reaped phenomenal benefits. When last checked at 27 years old, they were paired with a similar group not on the project, half as many High/Scope children had criminal records. They earn far more, are three times more likely to own their own homes and 22 per cent fewer have ever drawn social security. Evaluations show that every dollar spent on three- and four-year-olds saved seven dollars later on prison, crime and welfare. That's why nursery years are a Treasury concern. But how will the new money be delivered on the ground?

Real nurseries and playgroups that grow organically from communities by involving mothers, know about constructive play and teaching silent children to talk, with staff ratios of one to six, but they're being frozen out over 1,200 pre-schools have closed. Family centres are under pressure, groups like Newpin, which works with depressed young mothers, have three centres in danger of closing. Other brilliant schemes like Weep in Oxford have no way to spread across the country. All the best community projects combine doctors, health visitors, teachers, welfare-to-work, social work all on one site where families are, but they belong to no single profession or department.

So there's a microcosm of the problem for the comprehensive spending review. Can it make sense of how money is spent? Can it reach into the dense sectarian undergrowth of local government, health and education budgets? The chaos is mirrored everywhere you look: the frail old are tossed between hospital, community and nursing home funds. Crime prevention is trapped by rising prison numbers and the money that might help stop people committing crime. Children in care costing £50,000 a year eat up all the funds for schemes to save families from breakdown. Everywhere the cost of last minute emergencies destroys what might prevent crises at the start. The spending review has to use the new money as seed corn for shoring up resources out of coping with disaster into productive prevention. The fate of the First Steps Nursery will be as good a test as any.

Call for the ref

Peter Preston



WHERE'S the referee? Indeed, is there a ref for this game at all? You may make what you will of the latest rounds in the Lobbyists Champagne Cup, but the substantive point, the point for the future, is that no one's in charge. The managers are on the pitch, waving their fists; the captains are howling operatically; the wingers are taking writhing dives. I say you chaps, has anyone got a red card handy? We're not short of rules.

John Major — to his credit — brought those rules together and published them at the start of his government as Questions Of Procedure For Ministers. Tony Blair — to his credit — produced a still more draconian version early on. There's no doubt how Prime Ministers say they want their appointees to behave. The instructions are honourably clear. But who enforces them? That question — after the last few, milling days — could not be more crucial, or more devoid of a coherent answer.

When, long ago and far away, I grew anxious and suspicious about Jonathan Aitken's stay at the Ritz Hotel in Paris and the way it seemed to flout that ministerial code, I didn't rush into print. I sent the correspondence and the facts, for investigation, to the man Mr Aitken himself thought was the referee: Sir Robin Butler, then cabinet secretary.

But Sir Robin didn't think that was his job. He didn't "investigate". He merely called in the chief secretary to the Treasury, blankly heard what he had to say, and then let Mr Aitken himself help draft the push-off letter to the Guardian. And when, thereafter, I put the whole thing to John Major himself, the Prime Minister's office merely passed the parcel back. Sir Robin had "given his opinion". Thank you and good night.

There was no investigation. There was no mechanism for investigation. There was no responsibility for investigation. There was no way of testing the lies. There were only "rules" with nobody to police them.

And so to a new dawn and a new administrative era. The Blair code, admirable in its quest after probity, forgot to mention just one thing. Who was to be its keeper, its shifter, its ultimate custodian? I called the cabinet office direct to ask: "Why, the Prime Minister," they said. "It's the Prime Minister's code."

Set that certainty against the miasma of the past week. The Observer publishes a story which, at the very least, requires some detailed inquiry. The PM is up in the House on Wednesday, expressing his serious "concern" and announcing a prospective tightening of the "rules" covering lobbying companies, special advisers and ministers. But hang on: who's looking at those rules? It's Sir Richard Wilson, the Cabinet Secretary who succeeded Lord Butler. And he's also heaving around trying to find who dished out a defence white paper to newspapers 24 hours ahead of time. Busy man: cook and bottlewasher extraordinaire.

NOTHING has changed, you see. And nor has the quality of Downing Street "investigations". Mr Blair, in the heat of the moment, says that "not a single allegation in the Observer article is true", and sets humble pleas almost immediately. But worse, because more measured, he acquiesces the embattled special adviser, Roger Liddle, of any impropriety because the Observer quotes are "emphatically denied". Forget looking at evidence. Forget anything resembling due process. Emphatic denials rule OK. This is simply hopeless. You don't need to decide between the champagne-tinted recollections of an ad-

viser at a party and a couple of reporters taking notes to see that. But, in a political jam, independence is wholly impossible. It's the Prime Minister's Government which is under attack. It's his party and his old Millbank toilers who are in the frame. It's his press secretary out there, issuing ultimatums and spinning like a demented top. It's his propaganda machine at action stations, striving to rubbish his enemies.

Posting a prime minister on top of this edifice of supposed purity, this accumulating slag heap of rules and instructions, is ridiculous and unfair: to everybody, including the PM. John Major didn't, perfectly understandably, want to lose chief secretary Aitken. That would have been lousy political news, heaping dung back on the fellow who appointed him in the first place. Tony Blair, I guess, values Liddle's advice and feels a natural loyalty to him. Prime ministers are human beings too.

Yet what, then, do the codes — endlessly revised, intermittently amplified — amount to? Do they encourage ordinary members of the public, even ordinary worried newspapermen, sniffing something wrong, to approach the keeper of the rules in private? Hardly. Who wants to write screeds for the Downing Street shredder? Who wants to be dumped on by Alastair Campbell or yelled at in the Commons? And if the alternative is to do what newspapers normally do (that is, print a story), who thinks that a declaration of war?

The Nolan Committee, set up in the wake of Hamilton, Smith and Aitken, saw the dilemma — but put it off around it. Lord Nolan thought Sir Robin Butler had been put in an ideal position, investigating ministers and



It's the Prime Minister's old Millbank toilers who are in the frame

hangers-on was't the cabinet secretary's job.

But Nolan copied out. His report called for "careful consideration" of the "very least, requires some detailed inquiry". Let's be up in the House on Wednesday, expressing his serious "concern" and announcing a prospective tightening of the "rules" covering lobbying companies, special advisers and ministers. But hang on: who's looking at those rules? It's Sir Richard Wilson, the Cabinet Secretary who succeeded Lord Butler. And he's also heaving around trying to find who dished out a defence white paper to newspapers 24 hours ahead of time. Busy man: cook and bottlewasher extraordinaire.

By those lights, outsiders raising worries are not "enemies": they are friends of the wider good and shapers of the common aim. Early warning of a pong from the ante-chamber where young lobbyists congregate may be immensely unwelcome, but it is good too. Who wants to be the leader who is never told anything — until it's too late? Yet none of this — no warnings, no cleanings — can operate unless there is a proper system, unless the panoply of rules has trust at its core. The codes need their own, free custodians. One independent referee and a couple of linesmen are all you need. But, heavens, we do need them.

The Ulster crisis mirrors the disaster of 1974, but with an important difference

The brink of tragedy — again

Ian Aitken

EVERYONE knows the quote from Karl Marx: "History repeats itself, the first time as tragedy, the second time as farce." It is one of Northern Ireland's many claims to uniqueness that history repeats itself over and over again in those benighted six counties, but always as tragedy.

For the awful reality is that we have been here before. We reached almost exactly the same point of euphoric hope in 1974, under the Heath government, only to have those hopes so much dashed as crumpled underfoot by a section of the Unionist majority which would not give an inch.

On that occasion, Heath's Northern Ireland secretary, Willie Whitelaw, had managed by sheer force of personality to broker a deal which would establish an assembly very similar to

Mo Mowlam's. As now, the purpose was to create an all-party power-sharing executive which would resume local control of the governance of the province, thus ending direct rule from Westminster.

Then as now, power-sharing was the key element in the equation. For the intractable reality about Ulster politics was — and still is — that the ordinary rules of elective democracy do not, and cannot, apply here. By definition, a minority can never secure enough votes to offer any hope of ever getting a hand on the levers of political power. And inevitably, a minority has no hope of getting anything out of the ballot box is tempted to turn to violence as its only effective route forward.

It was Whitelaw who first recognised that of this impasse the viable way out of this impasse was to create a system of administration which guaranteed both communities a share in running the

province. By a combination of charm, psychological pressure and sleight of hand, he succeeded in brokering a deal between the nationalists and the Unionists that seemed set to bring a measure of stability, if not total peace.

Not total peace, however, for the simple reason that the IRA was not part of Whitelaw's deal. That is the crucial difference between his settlement and Mo Mowlam's. She managed to get Gerry Adams and his crew aboard. Though he met them in secret, Whitelaw did not. They continued to bomb and murder on a spectacular scale throughout the Whitelaw peace process.

BUT the key element in both situations, then as now, was not the IRA. It was and still is the Unionists. It is ultimately their willingness to operate any deal brokered by Whitelaw which determines whether or not it will

work. In Whitelaw's case, it was the late-lamented Brian Faulkner who signed up for the deal, persuading his own party followers to accept ideas which would have been unimaginable only weeks earlier. This time it was David Trimble, who has driven the same party equally hard to achieve the Good Friday agreement.

The common element in the two events, however, is Ian Paisley, who boycotted both deals. Thanks to Paisley and his fundamentalist allies, Faulkner was eventually repudiated by his own party, and there followed the so-called Ulster workers' strike which eventually forced a new Labour government to abandon the assembly and re-impose direct rule.

It is arguable that the Heath government drove Faulkner to accept things which were more than his party was ever going to swallow, and there are those who say Mo Mowlam

is doing the same to Trimble now. But a better explanation is that Dr Paisley is a past master at outflanking any compromise worked out with Westminster, and that both Faulkner and Trimble are ideal targets for Paisley's rhetoric. He will always be able to outbid people like them as long as there are thick-headed bigots like David Jones of the Drumcree Orange Order within earshot of his booming voice.

Always? Well, perhaps not this time. For the essential difference between 1974 and 1998 is that the present Government gambled on having a referendum on whether the people of Northern Ireland wanted a peace deal based on power sharing. Intended to see off the hard-line, nationalist Paisleyites, it turned up a massive majority for peace. The Heath government, by contrast, believed itself to be facing a threat from republicans rather than Unionists, and

chose not to have its vote on peace but on the continuation of the border between Ulster and the Irish republic. There was a large majority in favour of keeping the border, but everybody had known that already. There was no such certainty about the outcome of Mo Mowlam's ballot.

Armed now with their majority for peace, Tony Blair and Mo Mowlam are in a better position to use force against the threats of the Orange Order than were their predecessors at the time of the Ulster workers' strike. It has always been one of the monstrous hypocrisies of Unionism that people who call themselves "loyalists" never hesitate to defy the laws of the union to which they claim to be loyal, even to the point of attacking the forces of the crown. This time, however, they have gone a fatal step farther: they will be defying the declared view of the people they claim to represent.

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Sickened by death

Ulster acts at last

RICHARD, Mark and Jason Quinn knew nothing of Drumcree. The three little boys — aged 10, nine and seven — would probably have struggled to place it on a map. Not that we will ever know. For in the early hours of yesterday morning, the Quinn brothers were burned to death in their beds. The crime committed by these smiling, gap-toothed children was to have a Catholic mother in a mainly Protestant community — a community driven crazy by the stand-off at Drumcree. Now their names shall be linked forever to that place. Their deaths were triggered by it, certainly; but late yesterday another connection seemed possible. The death of the Quinn boys may have at last shamed Ulster into ending this ugly, futile battle.

The sheer revulsion was written into the faces of all those who looked on yesterday. Neighbours were aghast, the Secretary of State seemed close to tears, even the noisy Ian Paisley found his voice quietened by

shame. The people of Northern Ireland could be forgiven for feeling they had seen it all, but yesterday they showed they had not lost their capacity to be shocked. Even for them, the incineration of three sleeping children marked a new low.

The gleam of light, however, was that the mood did not begin and end with disgust. Instead it seemed to act as a spur for action. The most immediate effect was the rapid isolation of the Orangemen of Portadown who had spent the previous week massing by the barricades of Drumcree violently demanding their right to march their traditional route down the Garvaghy Road. They had expected reinforcements from their "brethren" across Northern Ireland and from across the Irish Sea, from Liverpool and Glasgow. But as word of the Quinn murders spread, Orange ardour cooled. The crowds at Drumcree thinned, more cars left than arrived. The picket that had gathered at Mo Mowlam's official residence at Hillsborough Castle went home, leaving three bouquets in memory of three slain children.

The leaders of Orangemen spoke out, too. The Rev William Bingham, the Orange Order chaplain in Armagh, deserves credit for telling his flock that forcing a march down Garvaghy Road would be a "very hollow victory". In the shadow of three coffins, David Trimble, too, seized the

moment, urging his fellow Orangemen to "come off the hill". Plenty of observers wished he had had the courage to make that plea last week. They wanted Mr Trimble to realise he is no longer just the leader of Ulster Unionism but is now Northern Ireland's First Minister. As such, he should have followed the lead set by Tony Blair and insisted on the rule of law — in this case the Parades Commission's ban on the march down the Garvaghy Road. Only by acting as the government of all Ulster, enforcing the law even when it cuts against his own constituency, will Mr Trimble's administration truly succeed.

Still, his intervention yesterday was welcome. It's possible that Mr Trimble had wanted to urge a withdrawal all along, and that it took the murder of the brothers Quinn to give him the pretext. If that's the case, so be it. The recent history of Northern Ireland suggests it sometimes takes a bloody, gruesome tragedy to shame people into action. It was the murder at Poyntpass of two young men — one Catholic, one Protestant, both best friends — that acted as a crucial spur in the closing stages of the peace process. Like those men, the Quinn boys were a model of the place Northern Ireland could be with roots in both traditions, their lives crossed the sectarian divide. The deaths at Poyntpass were followed

by the Good Friday agreement. The hope now must be that the deaths at Ballymoney will lead the Orangemen to walk away from Drumcree, quietly and in peace. If they refuse, the rest of Ulster Unionism must do what it began yesterday — and walk away from the Orangemen.

A right to choose

This is the key to birth control

ONE OF THE winners of the UN's Population Award, announced on Thursday to coincide with World Population Day, was not unexpectedly a family planner. In a world which is being more crowded at the rate of 80 million additional heads a year, the work of the family planning head in Jamaica, which has achieved one of the lowest growth rates in the Caribbean, is of evident importance. The other award is more thought provoking. It has gone to a group of clan elders among the Sabin people in Eastern Uganda who have worked with the UN Population Fund on a campaign against female genital mutilation. In 1996 they succeeded in reducing this practice by over one-third.

This award underlines an argument heard increasingly since the 1994 UN confer-

ence on population in Cairo. Women's rights — including the right to freedom from torture or ill-treatment — are desirable for their own sake, but they also impact directly upon the population problem. As the New Internationalist observes this month, "giving women security is a better way of controlling population than any number of forced sterilisations". This is also the central theme of a campaign launched this week by the International Planned Parenthood Federation. It reminds us that somewhere on the globe a woman dies every minute from pregnancy and childbirth complications, that one out of every four girls is married before she is 16 years of age, and that in many countries childless women or those who do not produce sons are regarded as outcasts. And that more than 130 million women and girls now alive have undergone female genital mutilation.

These issues should not be overlooked in the argument over the "demographic transition". The question is whether population growth will necessarily stabilise in the developing countries, as it has begun to do in the developed world. The need for it to do so is an additional argument for poverty alleviation and debt reduction in the Third World. But even these measures may not be sufficient if women are still treated as child-bearers without the right to choose.

Letters to the Editor

Bugs, blondes and Camilla

CONTRARY to Christian Collins's belief (Letters, July 10), blonde hair is attractive not because it implies "child-like vulnerability", but because it's easier to see if there are any parasites in light-coloured hair, in evolutionary terms, when offered two potential mates which appear equally vigorous and healthy, a sutor should choose the blonde because its appearance is less likely to deceive. Bleaching your hair is just a way of saying: "Don't worry big boy — you won't pick up anything nasty!" Chris Bell, London.

As a Japanese translator, I am mystified by your translation of comments made by Japanese TV personalities (Tiger on TV menu shocks Japanese, July 11). You report that they said: "Today we partook of something." Do you mean they said: "We ate?" Simeon Speak, London.

YVONNE Kedge asks why Prince Charles's mistress is called his companion by the media (Letters, July 11). It depends in which media one indulges: I noticed on the night the news broke of her meeting William that she was his mistress on ITN and his companion on BBC. Michael Grosvenor Myer, Cambridge.

TORY MP Teresa Gorman was wrong to say Bangladeshi restaurant workers could find work if they tried harder (Policy and politics, July 9). Many are unemployed because of their age. Restaurant owners want young workers who are malleable, who will work long hours for less pay and who won't answer back. Patrick Powell, Swansea.

We do not publish letters where only an e-mail address is supplied; please include a full postal address. We may edit letters: shorter ones are more likely to appear. We regret we cannot acknowledge those not used.

Drumcree marches on

BRENDAN O'Leary suggests that the Orange Order parade at Drumcree is about deterring natives (No surrender [by us], July 11) when it is to remember those who fell at the Somme. Britain is a pluralist society made up of diverse ethnic groups which should be able to express their identity and celebrate their differences. In Northern Ireland this does not seem to be the case. The Labour Government, in setting up the Parades Commission, has prevented the promotion of cultural diversity. Which ethnic group will suffer next at the hands of this policy of cultural apartheid? Neville London, Ballymoney, Co Antrim.

I AGREE with Mary Midgley (Drumcree and freedom, July 10) that sections cannot be as free as opinions. Sitting in a field eating burgers knowing somewhere a Catholic family is being burned out of their home by "our friends in the north" is not only culpable but cowardly. It also confirms that this affair is very much about poisonous sectarianism. It is possible to express a cultural identity without provoking the other side, and it is important sometimes to refuse to be provoked. This ap-

plies to both sides in Northern Ireland. D E Owens, Chalfont St Peter, Bucks.

MARY Midgley's article was soothly rational but it will not cut much ice with the North's pre-enlightenment pomers. Ian Paisley and his friends, like squabbling children, should not be allowed to perpetuate the idea they claim to be opposing; that the biggest bully will win in the end. The Government must stand up for the rule of law. Chris Moffat, Derrybrough, Portadown.

TO SEE the Union Jack and Cross of St George being used to justify the Orange Order's activities and law breaking is a disgrace. These people do not speak for me, do not represent the views of the majority of British people, and in no way reflect the policy of our democratically elected Government to bring peace to Northern Ireland. They have no right to use British symbols to defend their bigotry. Sheila Trevor, London.

A FEW years ago in Glasgow, I was rushing to catch a coach back to England. The

Orange march was making its way around the city and I could not circumvent it to get to the coach station, so I attempted to cross the street, through the parade. I was punched in the throat and repeatedly kicked after falling to the ground, before being thrown back on the pavement I had just left.

It strikes me there is a paradox at the centre of the Orangemen's demand: they want to assemble so that they may deny others free assembly. Paul Halfpenny, Aigburth, Liverpool.

AS WE now have our very own "Bosnia" in Northern Ireland — complete with violence, ethnic cleansing and sectarianism — isn't it time that serious consideration should be given to withdrawing our forces and asking the United Nations peacekeeping force to take over? John Dobson, Rochford, Essex.

HOW bizarre that July 13 should be a holiday in Northern Ireland. Presumably this is to encourage loyal Protestants to spend the day celebrating the Battle of the Boyne in style. Jonathan Theobald, Peterborough.

ure (with an unanticipated uplifting effect) can be due solely to the excessive greed of the manufacturer. Uncontrolled market forces should not be allowed to impoverish the NHS in a socialist or social democratic country. Better an impatient few than an impatient many. Patrick C Souper, Crete, Greece.

ANY risks associated with Viagra should be published, especially on a leaflet in the packet the user should be capable of making their own minds up about the balance of risk. Take it off prescription but perhaps require men to produce an authorising letter from their wives or target women. Ken Baldry, London.

Viagra arouses passionate debate

CATHERINE Bennett's article on Viagra (Getting it up, July 11) was a perfect example of the female sexism which passes for feminism in the media. She is concerned solely with promoting men's misery rather than women's happiness. This is mixed with puritanical disgust at the idea that older people might have, or even want, sex. I ought to be surprised at this mix of sexism and aggression in a liberal newspaper, but alas, I no longer am. John Rogers, Bristol.

CATHERINE Bennett is right to condemn the ease with which Viagra will be available at the expense of the

NHS to those who fake impotence. But why should real impotence be regarded as a "clinical need"? In a world finding it increasingly difficult to feed all its citizens, surely any natural clinical need should be capable of reducing human reproduction should be welcomed rather than treated as a disease (let alone a curable one). Walter Cairns, Manchester.

VIAGRA may cost the NHS £1 billion. Why? To gain a worthwhile share of the market for treatments for angina (the original intention), the sale price would have to be low. The excessive \$6 per pill for this pharmaceutical fail-



Mrs Jack's problem with the law

THE jailing of a disabled pensioner (Jail sentence on woman, 70, for poll tax default, July 10) is the latest of a long line of outrageous decisions that have resulted in judicial reviews and the subsequent quashing of committal sentences. The problem is not so much a residue of "refugees" fighting on, years after the death of their war, but rather a structural fault in the legislation.

When abolishing the poll tax, the Major administration amended the legislation so that, unless an authority had obtained a liability order within six years of the "bill becoming due", the debt would become unenforceable. No similar amendment was made to the legislation governing cases where the authority has obtained a liability order. Therefore those who "vanished" from the register or managed to avoid a liability order have in effect, being pardoned, while

others, such as Mrs Betty Jack, face jail terms because they cannot pay. Mark Newbury, Tyne & Wear.

WHY can local authorities seek to jail people for not paying poll tax when imprisonment for other forms of civil debt has long been abolished? A building society or bank cannot ask the courts to jail someone who owes them money. Nor can private firms, utilities or private individuals. Scotland abolished the archaic power to jail people for non-payment of local government taxes in 1987. Non-payment of local government taxes should be a matter for the civil, not criminal, courts. Local authorities should have to rely on the same procedures as other bodies seeking to enforce payment against their debtors. Paul Cavadin, Principal officer, NACRO, London.

Our gay son

THE reaction of the parents in your article (I'm gay, mum, July 9) in no way reflects that of my wife and I when our son of 16 came out to us earlier this year. Our reaction was one of pride and respect. He came out to us in an intelligent, mature and sensitive way and demonstrated an understanding of his sexuality way beyond that of many heterosexual men

and women of his age. With a small circle of support and gay friendships he has grown in confidence and is a happier and more relaxed individual. He can do that in the knowledge that his parents have no expectations of him other than he is the person that he is, and that happens to be a gay young man. Please withhold my name and address as he has, as yet, only come out to his immediate family and his confidence must be respected. Name and address supplied.

Endpiece: reasonable doubt

Roy Hattersley



AS ALWAYS, I refused to sign and, as usual, I stopped to offer a word of support. The campaigners against the live export of animals have occupied the Whitehall pavement for as long as I can remember, and I have added my name to their petition a dozen times. I remain an enthusiastic supporter of their cause. But I recalled that the undermined credibility was the discovery that Queen Victoria had endorsed their call for manhood suffrage more than a thousand times

— often in pencil and rarely in the same handwriting. So I intended to smile and pass on. But one of the protesters caught me by the sleeve. At that point, vanity combined with conceit to guarantee my downfall.

Five days earlier, a Sunday newspaper had published my review of Animal Rights, a 1,000 year history of the campaign against cruelty. And I really did expect the lady who barred my path to congratulate me on the position I had taken up. I had quoted the irrefutable view of Jeremy Bentham: "The question is not whether they reason? Nor can they talk? But can they suffer?" To my surprise and disappointment, instead of initiating a discussion on the relationship between utilitarian philosophy and the lower order of mammals' position within the universe, she handed me a postcard. Courteous as ever, I would have read it — but it had not been black on both sides. Noticing my bewilderment, the lady to whom it belonged pointed menacingly at the postage stamp which was attached to

one corner. "What," she asked, "are you going to do about that?"

It is more than 50 years since I seriously considered philatelic design. I recall a Cabinet Committee at which Postmaster Benn announced his intention to shrink the Queen's head and perch it precariously above a pretty picture. But my interest in the subject did not really survive the acquisition of a Penny Black on Christmas Day 1947. So, I struggled to think of something sensible to say. My task was made more difficult by the stamp's wholly unexceptional nature. It neither glorified fox-hunting nor idealised fishing. Two hands — amputated from Michelangelo's Creation, and turned to point up and down rather than side to side — celebrated the foundation of the National Health Service. "Read it," the lady said. The rubric, alongside the hands, was an estimate of how many prescriptions have been dispensed by the nation's pharmacies since 1948. In 50 years, a lot of medicine has flowed

under the bridge. And the lady who ostensibly protested against the live export of animals was absolutely furious about it. "How many of them," she demanded to know, "were necessary? And how many animals were sacrificed in the experiments which discovered cures?" I was forced to confess that I could answer neither question.

For most of my adult life, I

We are opposed to even gentle fanaticism

have tried to avoid using that tired old poetic cliché about "the best lacking all conviction while the worst are full of passionate intensity". And, I say in my own defence, that I only thought of it then because the lady with the stamp proved it wrong. Her passion was certainly intense and her convictions were visible on her face. But, far from being the worst, she represented the best human in-

stincts of care and compassion. She was simply incapable of keeping her innate decency under control and, as a result, she did her admirable cause inimitable harm.

Yet, the paradox of her position is that, without her risible extremism, the cause would probably wither and die. I may, in my marching days, have demonstrated in favour of moderation, but I cannot recall the occasion. I used to be embarrassed by trade union activists who chanted: "What do we want? Everything. When do we want it? Now." But, on reflection, I realise that the comrades would not have come on to the streets politely to ask for as much as was reasonably possible at the earliest convenient opportunity. In this tight little, right little island we are instinctively opposed even to gentle fanaticism. As the lady told me, most pedestrians pass by the animal export protesters without a word or a glance. On the evidence of the opinion polls, a large majority of this country is opposed to shipping live sheep to Europe

in bot and over-crowded lorries and are, therefore, obvious candidates to sign the Whitehall petition. They hurry on because they are afraid of being caught up in an activity which is either illegal or (far worse) ridiculous. Their outrage needs to be mobilised by something which is more reassuringly reasonable. Unfortunately reasonable people are reluctant to campaign.

If you are looking for this balance to come to one of its usual didactic conclusions, you will look in vain. For I do not know how to bridge the gap between passion and reason and torn the two essential ingredients into outrage. I am not sure if an irrational protest against live animal exports is worse than no protest at all or if it is just intellectual snobbery that makes me embarrassed by the assumption that I would want to suppress a postage stamp. I am, however, sure of one thing. Next time I walk down Whitehall, I shall feel guilty that because of reasonable doubt I do so little to support animal welfare.

'Better an impotent few than an impotent health service'

Patrick C Souper, Letters

In defence of lobbying (it certainly works for us)

LORD Hattersley dismisses lobbying as a disreputable trade (Chat hits the fan, July 9) and suggests that lobbyists for good causes seldom see Ministers or persuade the Government to adopt our policies.

The media has failed to distinguish between the activities of many charities and user groups who engage in lobbying to influence policy and those lobbyists and commercial companies who, for a fee, act for more powerful interests in our society.

Groups lobbying on behalf of disabled people and their carers, often excluded in the formation of policy in the past, have experienced greater political access since this government was elected. We have also experienced success with the announcement by Tony Blair of a National Careers Strategy last month and substantial concessions on disability benefits — all brought about by successful lobbying.

It is not true that the Government is only accessible to commercial lobbyists and their clients via special policy advisers. We talk to special advisers, civil servants and Ministers all the time. I doubt that many commercial lobbyists are in the same position, no matter what they may say to prospective clients. Deputy chief executive, Carers National Association.

SHORTLY after the general election, Roger Liddle, we are told, increased to 25 per cent his shareholding in the lobbying firm Prima Europe. Although those shares were in a blind trust, given the line of work of Prima Europe, Liddle's position as a Downing Street adviser would increase their value — especially if privileged access to Ministers were granted to Prima Europe clients.

Liddle should not have placed his shares in Prima Europe in a blind trust: he should have sold them. But what were Labour doing employing an adviser someone with close ties to a lobbying firm? The potential for conflict of interest existed in Opposition and has been compounded in office. Cllr Peter Forrest, Conservative Group Leader, Haringey council, London.

NOTE that the Labour Party's new general secretary has a master's degree in advanced marketing (On-message McDonagh confirmed as first woman in charge of Labour, July 10). No doubt she will soon be moving on to a PhD in complete bullshit. Mike Pokorny, St Albans, Herts.

The Country Oiry can be found on Page 14

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Sir Charles Cunningham

Civilised servant

SIR CHARLES Cunningham, who has died aged 92, was an outstanding example of the high fliers who entered the Civil Service between the wars. From 1948-66, he served successively as the head of the Scottish Home Department and of the Home Office, exercising in both posts the calm competence and determined acceptance of personal responsibility that were the hallmarks of his career.

Cunningham early displayed his mental powers, carrying off the prizes at the Harris Academy in Dundee and then at St Andrew's University, where he graduated with first-class honours in English and German in 1929.

In 1929, he entered the Civil Service and was happily assigned to the Scottish Office, then a tiny department of state, beginning the task (not completed till 1939) of taking over the functions previously discharged by separate boards. Cunningham was to play a leading part in making Whitehall take the Scottish Office seriously.

By 1935, he had become private secretary to the Secretary of State, serving, in succession, Sir Godfrey Collins, Colonel Water Elliott and Sir John Colville. These were formative years for Cunningham, in daily contact with senior politicians of widely differing backgrounds. All of them, however, had been marked by their war-time experiences and were one-time Tories with whom Cunningham, a humane and liberal man, did not find it difficult to converse.

This prolonged exposure to the views and styles of three senior ministers must have been of the first importance in forming Cunningham's distinctive personal way of conducting government business.

In common with most of their colleagues, these cabinet ministers believed that their chief functions were to decide policy questions, and to conduct business in parliament. The implementation of policy and the management of their departments was for their civil servants, who would bring to their notice any necessary questions of policy.

Cunningham was promoted to be an assistant secretary in the Scottish Home Department in 1939. During the second world war, he worked

more tartan Home Office. As John Gibson wrote in *The Thistle and the Crown*, "the department was simultaneously expanding in many diverse directions—children and fisheries; industry and prison improvement; hydro-electricity and police training; highland policy and local government finance; tourism and liaison with the Scottish Committee of the Arts Council. Small though it was, Cunningham was insistent that it must never have even the slightest sensation of being itself alongside the armada of Whitehall. To sail in

organisation and machinery, and under Cunningham valuable improvements were made. On the personnel side, the organisation was greatly strengthened and Cunningham's judgments in this area were well received.

On the criminal side an active structure was introduced; the Office began to develop a more scientific and studied approach, encouraging the formation of the Cambridge Institute of Criminology, funding research work elsewhere and developing its own research unit. A parliamentary branch was estab-

lished to support ministers and their private offices who had hitherto handled parliamentary work in a rather hand-to-mouth way. The Prison Commission was amalgamated with the Home Office, to considerable advantage. Cunningham left the Home Office better equipped than he found it.

Cunningham's personal style—a style made possible only by his prodigious capacity for work—married with traditional Home Office views led eventually to severe differences with Roy Jenkins. This was a clash with a minister who took a very different view of his role from that of the ministers with whom Cunningham had worked in his most formative years. James Stuart, the influential Scottish secretary of state, who had supported Cuning-

*'Said Charles Craik Cunningham
och, och, I fair enjoy running 'em,
even their best yins,
cannae answer a' ma questions'*

ham's move to the Home Office had been in the same mould as his pre-war predecessors. Cunningham continued his personal practice into the much larger department.

With Home Secretaries Butler, Frank Soskice and Henry Brooke this had not proved too great a problem. Jenkins was of a different breed, a minister who wanted to be a political executive, concerned with execution as well as policy. He did not want to be told how his policy applied to the facts. He wanted options from which he could himself decide the right course of action, not a single recommendation from Cunningham, however well reasoned and presented.

In the result, Cunningham retired earlier than he would have wished; but he went on to give distinguished service as deputy chairman of the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority and as chairman of the Uganda Resettlement Board. It was a tribute to his humanity and his reputation for administrative competence that he was given this last sensitive task.

His long and happy marriage ended with the death of his wife Edith in 1990. Thereafter he returned to Edinburgh, where he looked after himself until his last illness.

In the nursing home in which he spent his last months he received his visitors with habitual courtesy and kindness and continued his lifelong interest in public affairs. He is survived by his two daughters, grandchildren and great-grandchildren in whom he took much pleasure.

Archie Henrie
Charles Craik Cunningham, civil servant, born May 7, 1906; died July 7, 1998



Cunningham... the epitome of a departed style of civil servant

Bernhard Häring

Prophet of the theology of freedom



Häring... faithful to Christ all his life but free in thought after his time as a medical orderly in Hitler's army

LIKE most priests of his time, the theologian Bernhard Häring, who has died aged 85, was trained according to the strictest interpretation of law and obedience. But the second world war changed everything from then on his thinking and writing embraced pacifism and ecumenism.

Häring's genius was to take the best of a more generous Catholic tradition and of contemporary scholarship to the problems of the day. It seems as if almost three centuries ago, but in the 1950s, when Catholic theology was aridly protective of the status quo, Häring was revolutionary.

The second youngest of the 13 children of a Catholic family in Böttingen, Germany, he joined the Redemptorist Congregation in 1933. He presumed that his life would follow the accepted pattern for that religious order: conducting parish missions which sought to revive faith through robust preaching and confession of sin.

His forced conscription in November 1939, as a medical orderly of Hitler's army, shaped his life. The futility of war made him a pacifist and living with Lutheran comrades as well as (illegally) consorting with Orthodox Russians stirred a lifelong

passion for ecumenism. In war he discovered the value of freedom of conscience, the right meaning of responsible obedience and a mature approach to law, including Church law. The experience showed him the futility of the theological textbooks he had used and sowed the seeds of his passion for freedom and commitment to dialogue in the search for moral truth.

These insights, new for Catholic theology of the time, needed an intellectual framework. A study of the social thinking of Max Weber, the phenomenologist Friedrich Schlegelmacher and the personalist philosopher Max Scheler, provided this for Häring.

When his seminal work *The Love of Christ* was published in 1954, it became a bestseller in Germany and was translated into 10 languages. It was the death-knell of a 300-year-old system of moral training in Catholic seminaries, and was enough ahead of its time to be used by an Anglican college in Tokyo and a Lutheran one in Recife. The freshness of Häring's analysis of liberty, responsibility and the dignity of conscience was generously welcomed, though efforts to undermine and discredit him were led by the Roman Curia. The advent of

Pope John XXIII in 1963 and the calling of the Second Vatican Council (1962-65) not only vindicated Häring's approach, but gave the Church a rare moment of grace to incorporate a theologian's thinking into official doctrine. Häring remained intensely loyal to the Church, but also committed in the hard-won freedoms and dignity of conscience of modern believers. This double loyalty was especially evident in his courageous response to *Humanae Vitae* and the subsequent storm in the Catholic Church. Again, his war experience stood him in good stead in this difficult prophetic role: he had confronted his Nazi masters in the name of conscience and freedom, and he was not going to allow lesser churchmen to deprive the Christian world of the true liberty of faith.

For Roman Catholics, Häring's ethical thinking represents a liberation from clerical control and the harbinger of a different approach: more Biblical, more responsible, more contemporary. His revolution has been welcomed outside his own Church.

Raphael Gallagher
Bernhard Häring, born November 10, 1912; died July 3, 1998

to espouse these ideas, but he was the most visible and the most willing to carry his ideas to the marketplace.

A generation of students in Rome nicknamed him "the prophet". It seems apt still. Häring remained intensely loyal to the Church, but also committed in the hard-won freedoms and dignity of conscience of modern believers. This double loyalty was especially evident in his courageous response to *Humanae Vitae* and the subsequent storm in the Catholic Church. Again, his war experience stood him in good stead in this difficult prophetic role: he had confronted his Nazi masters in the name of conscience and freedom, and he was not going to allow lesser churchmen to deprive the Christian world of the true liberty of faith.

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Bernhard Häring, born November 10, 1912; died July 3, 1998

A Country Diary

RUA REIGH LIGHTHOUSE, WESTER ROSS: The minke whale is a difficult beast to try to convey. By the standards of the rest of its awesome family, the six species of rorqual whale, it is not so remarkable. The adults average 8.9 metres in length and weigh around 5.7 tonnes. Compare this with the 26 metres and 100 tonnes of its relative, the blue whale, and a minke seems a mere baby.

But when we saw them recently at the magical Rua Reigh Lighthouse, they were big enough to leave us gasping with excitement. They are the largest mammal you are likely to see from British soil, and the only of the Atlantic known as the minke, between the Hebridean island of Lewis and the Scottish mainland, is an excellent place to observe them.

When we visited, a combination of uninterrupted sunshine and an ocean panorama which was as calm as a South Sea lagoon were nearly perfect conditions for watching cetaceans.

Most of the time the minke simply rose to

breath, appearing as a long convex line of black at the surface. Occasionally, we caught a spout of misty spray and just once—for several glorious seconds—a minke rose from the waters, its whole upper body thrusting skywards in one almighty surge.

How extraordinary to think that further north the Norwegians are still hunting minke for their blubber. One Norwegian foreign minister referred to the minke as "rats of the sea" and accused them "of taking fish from fishermen".

In defiance of the International Whaling Commission, the Norwegians set their 1998 quota at 871 minke whales. This is based on their 1995 estimate of the North Atlantic population of 118,000—a census widely condemned as grossly exaggerating true numbers.

To give you an idea of the imprecision of whale estimates, in one area of the Barents Sea, sightings of just 29 whales were the basis for a calculation in that area of a population of 16,101 minke.

MARK COCKER

CORRECTIONS AND CLARIFICATIONS

IN OUR magazine, *Guardian* Weekend, July 11, in an article which began on page 20, headed *Playing it cool*, we said that in the World Cup, France "twice reached the semi-finals before this year's campaign, in 1982 and 1986 (to be beaten on both occasions by Germany)". They actually reached the semi-finals for the first time in 1982 when they were beaten 5-2 by Brazil (Pelé scored a hat-trick).

OUR OBITUARY of Bill Brooks, Page 22, July 9, had his age wrong. He was born in 1916 (not 1911), making him 82 when he died (not 87). Apologies.

Birthdays

Thierry Boutsen, racing driver, 41; Karen Brown, deputy director of programmes, C4, 46; Lee Cooper, fashion designer, 32; Miss Evans, trades unionist, 73; Harrison Ford, actor, 55; Larry Gomes, cricketer, 45; Ian Hislop, editor, Private Eye, 38; Chris Holmes, director, Shelter, 56; Peter John, managing-director and chief executive, Reuters, 57; Roger McGinnis, rock singer, 56; Prof Gillian France, director, New Gardens, 61; Dr Patricia Rodgers, diplomat, 50; Prof Janet Rossant, biologist, 48; Erno Rubik, inventor of the cube, 54; Chris Serle, broadcaster, 55; Rachel Squire, Labour MP, 44; Patrick Stewart, actor, 58; David Storey, playwright, 65; Prof Jeff Thompson, chairman, British Association for the Advancement of Science, 60; Sir Garfield Todd, former prime minister, Southern Rhodesia, 90; Simone Veil, stateswoman, 71.

Death Notices

BARNON: George Barnon, loving and devoted husband of Sheila and father of Catherine, died peacefully at home, 5, June 1998. He was 85. The funeral will be held at Holy Trinity Church, Redgrave, on Monday 20th July. Tel: 01223 81222 or 01223 83110 for further details.

Memorial Services

ADAMS: Professor Gerald A. Adams, a service of thanksgiving for the life of Gerald Adams will be held at Holy Trinity Church, Redgrave, on Monday 20th July. Tel: 01223 81222 or 01223 83110 for further details.

Birthdays

To Jeremy Adams, a brave and beautiful girl, Henry (Brendon) Adams, 4, and a son, James, 10.

Alec Robins

Cryptic custodian

CROSSWORD puzzles were first set in the *ITN* in the 1920s when Alec Robins, who has died aged 80, was still a schoolboy. Robins, who became Custos of the *Guardian*, was there at the start. Crosswords were a lifelong interest and an art form he helped shape.

Robins was a Manchester man, born and educated there. His "day job" was teaching classics at schools in the area. His interest in crosswords took hold when he was in hospital after the second world war, and he became a serious solver and setter. He joined a pantheon of classicists associated with the more difficult puzzles: the late Poynter Mather (Torquemada of the Observer), A F Ritchie (Afric of the Listener) then in his prime and the rising crossword star, and Derrick Macnutt, known as Ximenes, successor to Torquemada.

Crosswords were increasingly popular in a world trying to get back to its armchair, but clues were often ungrammatical or unfair or unhelpful. Afric more or less

invented the concept of clue-manship governing what is and what is not fair in cryptic clues, and Robins elaborated on it first through his association with Ximenes, culminating in *Ximenes on the Art of the Crossword* (1975).

Over his career, Robins was Zander in the Listener, where he introduced many novel puzzles. In the Observer he was a half of Everyman for 33 years, alternating months of setting, mostly with Dorothy Taylor. To *Guardian* readers he was the classical guardian, Custos, keeping watch over the standards with an eagle eye and working for a crossword editor who never needed to edit a clue. What you could count on from Robins was precision, grammatical accuracy, and a concern for the "average" solver. His only misdemeanour that I know of was his clue "Crete given, for a change, a deputy", which led to two possible answers in a grid with i-e-e-t: viceregent and viceregent.

At crossword dinners, Alec was well known as a kindly



Robins... he made the rules about what was fair or not

gentleman who encouraged brash young things. A few years ago some of us gave him our vote as the crossword setter in the Observer feature. In the outside world, he never quite established the reputation he deserved. When Ximenes died he was passed over in favour of the young Jonathan Crowther (Azed), and among *Guardian* solvers he was never quite as popular as Arcaucaria, whose ideas he loved but whose clues he often loathed. Nevertheless his influence was enormous. "Cruciverbalism" has lost its elder statesman.

He is survived by his wife Anna, whom he nursed devotedly over many years.

Don Marley

Alec (Alexsander) Robins, teacher and crossword setter, born September 7, 1917; died June 23, 1998

Vronwy Hankey

Egypt's immortal clay

VRONWY Hankey, who has died aged 81, was a pioneer of the *Aegean Bronze Age Chronology* (1989).

She began her research in Greece in 1938 after finishing at Girton College, Cambridge, where she had read classics. The vicissitudes of war, marriage and children interrupted her studies for several years, but she managed to publish a major article on the Mycenaean (Late Bronze Age) pottery of Euboea in 1952. It was the first of a series of important papers (some will appear posthumously) which grew out of years of studying and handling Mycenaean and Minoan pottery. Hankey became an expert on the technology of Aegean pottery, helped by a practical collaboration with her daughter, Veronica Newman, a potter.

Identifying Mycenaean and Minoan ceramic exports to Egypt and the Near East was the basis for researching the connections between the regions. Her reassessment of Mycenaean pottery from the Pharaoh Akhenaten's capital at El Amarna to a later time phase had immediate repercussions on dating the Mycenaean. This led to research in Aegean chronology, still dependent on East Mediter-

anean connections, culminating in her book, with Peter Warren, *Aegean Bronze Age Chronology* (1989).

Hankey grew up in the rectory at Stilton where her father taught her—as she would later teach her own children—until she went to Cambridge. She had married in 1941 Henry Hankey, youngest son of Lord Hankey and a diplomat, whom she accompanied on all his foreign postings. The Hankeys shared a shared sense of the futility of the war, and she was a notable analytic thinker, he had the gift of a preacher's ability to concentrate on the essentials. Freedom, conscience, responsibility, he returned constantly to those themes, notably in his second major synthesis, *Free and Faithful in Christ* (1978). He was not the first modern Catholic theologian

In 1970, she returned to her beloved Greece for what would become many seasons of study and excavation, when she and Cressida Ridley—a powerful duo—joined my team at a new British school of Athens dig at Myrto-Pyrgos on the south coast of Crete. We had a fabulous time. The two women gave ballast and humour, and carried on doggedly when the younger members of the team lagged.

She also started lecturing on the Aegean Bronze Age, proving a brilliant communicator. They led to Nile cruises—and those, in turn, to her expertise in Egyptology and her important work on the pottery from al Amarna (for which she became an honorary fellow of University College London).

Vronwy Hankey carried on with all these activities, and with being the warmest-hearted friend, and grandmother of 11 by her three sons and one daughter. When I told a colleague of her death, he replied: "She wasn't the dying sort."

Gerald Cadogan

Vronwy Mary Hankey, archaeologist, born September 15, 1916; died May 11, 1998

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FinanceGuardian

Foreign corporations triple their previous outlay in buying up British rivals Predators move in on UK plc

Ian King

B RITAIN is confirmed as Europe's most popular target for foreign predators, with takeovers of UK companies breaking all records in the first half of the year.

The cost to foreign companies over the six months was more than three times the amount they spent for the corresponding period a year earlier, according to a survey published today by corporate financiers at KPMG, the accountancy firm.

In all, foreign companies spent £29.2 billion on British firms, including names like Energy Group, which was bought by Texas Utilities, and engineer T&N, which was snapped up by Federal-Mogul.

The figure emphasises Britain's importance as a bridgehead into the European market.

Leading the way among the predators were American companies, which made 144 acquisitions during the period, spending £18.2 billion in the process. The Swiss were the next biggest spenders.

Apart from utilities, such as Energy Group, the most popular areas for acquisitions were food, and motor manufacture, even before last week's completion of the sale

of Rolls-Royce Motors by Vickers to Volkswagen.

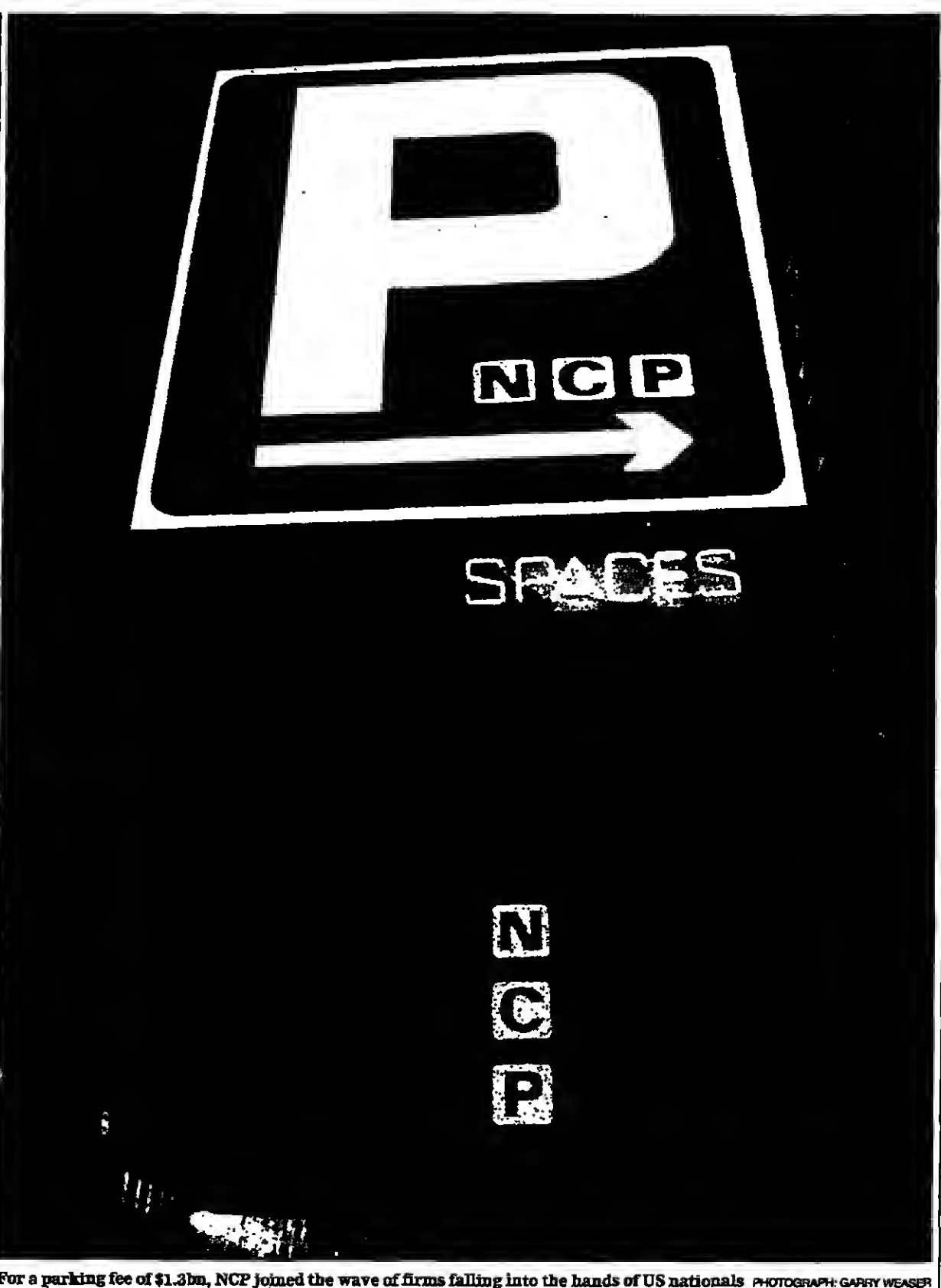
The upsurge of foreign takeover activity in Britain means that it dwarfs the £16.8 billion spent by British companies on overseas acquisitions. Companies in the US, Netherlands and Germany were the most popular targets.

KPMG said the figures reflected the general pick-up in cross-border deals in Europe.

Stephen Barratt, head of mergers and acquisitions at KPMG corporate finance, said: "Britain's position as the number one destination in Europe for international corporate acquirers seems secure. Owing out of the first wave of monetary union seems to have done nothing to stem the buying spree in the UK."

"Other EU countries are slowly becoming more attractive to international companies, as deregulation and market liberalisation spreads. But it is still the case that multinationals feel more comfortable with the UK's more open and efficient economy."

However, the deals involving foreign takeovers of UK companies are small potatoes compared with global takeover activity, with £788 billion (£472 billion) worth of mergers and takeovers completed by the first week of May.



For a parking fee of \$1.3bn, NCP joined the wave of firms falling into the hands of US nationals. PHOTOGRAPH: GARY WEAVER

Home losses

Target	Buyer	Country	Value \$ (billions)
Energy Group	Texas Utilities	US	10.40
BTR's glass/plastic packing	Owens Illinois	US	3.60
T&N	Federal-Mogul	US	2.40
Allied Colloids	Novartis	Switz	2.31
Dewar's Scotch/Bombay gin	Bacardi	Bermuda	1.83
Petrol Engine	Caterpillar	US	1.33
National Parking Corp.	Conduent	US	1.30
Orange (16.11 per cent)	Swiss Bank	Switz	1.28
Spillars Petfoods	Nestle	Switz	1.18
Comcast UK	NTL	US	1.00

Source: KPMG Corporate Finance

Away wins

Target	Buyer	Country	Value \$ (billions)
Simon & Schuster	Pearson	US	4.60
Matthew Bender	Reed Elsevier	US	1.85
Inland Steel	Legat Int.	US	1.43
Tecor Inc	GEC	US	1.36
TNOC	Guardian Royal	Netherlands	1.15
Products Olv/Formica Corp	CVC Capital	Australia	1.10
Douwe Egberts Van Nolle	Imperial Tobacco	Netherlands	1.08
Koninklijke KNP	Cliven	Netherlands	0.85
Metro Mail	GUS	US	0.83
MCI - Internet operations	Cable & Wireless	US	0.63

Source: KPMG Corporate Finance

Low inflation fails to stem corporate greed

Larry Elliott
Economics Editor

HOPES that British firms would respond to lower inflation by setting less exacting pay-back targets from big capital projects were confounded today by a report showing little change in investment thinking since the gyrations of the boom-bust cycle a decade ago.

British companies have paid little heed to the move towards price stability in the 1990s and are demanding high returns over short pay-back periods before sanctioning capital spending decisions.

Expectations that an era of greater price stability with the tax changes in Chancellor Gordon Brown's first Budget would lead to lower hurdle rates for investment were scotched in a survey by the Confederation of British Industry and the Association of Consulting Actuaries.

Mr Brown believes that low investment is one of the main reasons for sluggish economic performance, and that macroeconomic stability and a tax regime less biased towards dividends will encourage capital spending.

But the study found that on average, firms expected projects to generate a real rate of return of 17.6 per cent with a pay-back period of between two and four years — little change, said the CBI, from its 1994 survey.

Although fewer firms were setting themselves targets of 20 per cent than four years ago, the report said that "hurdle rates are often set higher than expected on the basis of underlying theory".

Chris Waites of the ACA said a hurdle rate of between 12 and 13 per cent would be right for most projects, and there was a risk that the task of hitting targets was leading to investment in high-risk but potentially lucrative projects at the expense of bread and butter capital spending.

Only 2 per cent of the 336 respondents said that the scrapping of Advance Corporation Tax credit on UK divi-

dends for pension funds and the reduction in the rate of corporation tax would lead to higher investment.

Ninety per cent said Mr Brown's initiative would make no difference, while 8 per cent said investment would be lower.

However, the survey did not test the Treasury's expectation that tax changes will encourage firms to take a long-term view — and the report acknowledged that it was likely to be some time before they adapted.

Businesses based in wealthier countries increased direct investments by nearly a fifth to \$355 billion (£215 billion) last year, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development said yesterday.

Direct investment flowing into OECD countries rose 16 per cent to \$355 billion. The Asian crisis had not reduced international corporate expansion, and may instead have boosted direct investment into the countries affected, the survey said.

Separately, an independent forecaster warned today that rates may not have peaked, despite the decision to leave them on hold last week.

"There is every chance that short-term interest rates will be pushed up further, increasing the risk of a 'hard landing'," says Oxford Economic Forecasting's report.

"Stagflation threatens to rear its ugly head again in the UK, with a combination of rising wage inflation and a beleaguered manufacturing sector posing increasingly difficult issues for the monetary policy committee."

Pessimism goes wholesale

Charlotte Denry

BUSINESS confidence has hit its lowest level since the end of the last recession as pessimism spreads from manufacturing into the services sector, according to a new report.

Firms are bracing themselves for another interest rate rise from the Bank of England, says the Dun & Bradstreet survey. The 1,400 finance and managing directors were questioned in June following the Bank raised rates to 7.5 per cent.

Sales expectations dropped 19 percentage points to their lowest level since 1992. Confidence is lowest in the manufacturing heartland of the Midlands, but firms in the services sector are also becoming increasingly gloomy.

Philip Mellor, D&B's senior analyst, said: "As more firms expect further increases in interest rates, so gloom has spread from exporters into the domestic economy."

"For the first time in years the survey has shown a severe drop in confidence among the service, retail and wholesale sectors."

But there have been suggestions that it could face further disputes, a Diageo spokesman said the company owned most of its brands — which include Smirnoff vodka, Johnnie Walker whisky and Gordon's gin.

He said the only distribution agreement aside from the LVMH names where Diageo did not control the brand involved, or hold a stake in it, was that covering Southern Comfort and Jack Daniels.

PowerGen facing a storm over policies

Roger Cowe

FRIENDS of the Earth members are to demonstrate outside PowerGen's shareholders meeting in Birmingham today in an attempt to convince the electricity generator to plough more money into wind power and other alternative energy sources.

Anna Stamford, Friends of the Earth energy campaigner, said only 0.1 per cent of the electricity produced by PowerGen came from renewable sources.

"Eastern Group has a commitment to produce 10 per cent of its output from renewables by the year 2010," she said. "We want PowerGen to invest more, whether that's in offshore wind farms, biomass or wave power."

She said PowerGen's green credentials had become more important since its recent takeover of East Midlands electricity, which had brought the group into consumer markets.

"There is definitely a market opening up for renewable energy," she said. "But so far PowerGen has just talked about prices."

Friends of the Earth believes that some fossil fuel generation will have to be replaced by renewable energy if Britain is to achieve targets for the reduction of carbon dioxide emissions agreed at the Kyoto summit last year.

But Ms Stamford will tell shareholders today that switching to wind or wave power is also in the interests of the company.

New model puts Jaguar back in jobs market

Nicholas Barnister, Chief Business Correspondent

JAGUAR, which cut its workforce from 12,000 to 4,500 after its takeover by Ford, has started to take on workers to build a new medium-sized car.

The company forecasts sales this year of more than 50,000 vehicles — beating the previous peak of 49,494 in the year before the Ford bid — and expects to sell substantially more next year when the S-type reaches the showrooms.

A company spokesman said sales of its current models, the XJ6 saloon and the XK8 sports car, had been particularly strong during the first half of the year and would set a new record if the luxury car market held up.

Hundreds of new workers will eventually be needed at its Castle Bromwich plant in the West Midlands.

A spokesman said: "The S-type, which will go on sale early next year, falls into the market sector which we had to ourselves in the 1960s with the Mark II Jaguar but then moved out of to concentrate on the large luxury car and sports car sectors."

Jaguar is due to move to four-model production in 2001 with the introduction of a baby Jaguar, codenamed the X400. However the X400 is due to be built at a former Ford plant at Halewood and is unlikely to lead to new jobs.

Current sales have been particularly strong in Germany and the US.

Jaguar is embarking on a heavy marketing campaign to introduce the S-type. This has included a direct mail shot to more than one million potential customers and corporate advertising on television for the first time in more than six years.

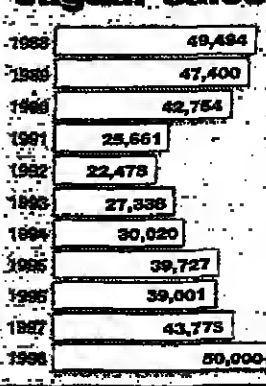
While Jaguar is cruising towards record sales, BMW-owned Rover is struggling to cope with the strong pound. The company, which last year exported 55 per cent of its production, said sales about the same level as last year.

A spokesman said the group had increased the level of components it bought in from abroad and was seeking to cut costs. He denied reports of plans to cut jobs in the summer.

However the contracts of the several hundred temporary workers taken on to help launch production of the Freelander at the Land Rover works at Solihull would not be renewed.

Vickers has finally agreed to sell its Cosworth high performance engine business to Volkswagen's Audi subsidiary for £117 million, subject to approval from the European regulatory authorities.

Jaguar sales



American Notebook

Magic Kingdom is degraded



Mark Tran

TINA BROWN'S departure from New Yorker magazine for Miramax Films, a Walt Disney company, comes at a frustrating moment for the Magic Kingdom because of plodding performance of its Capital Cities/ABC television arm, disappointing films and weak merchandise sales in Asia.

Adding insult to injury, the Texas board of education last Friday voted to shed its \$45 million (\$27 million) stake in Disney in protest at what it considers to be a surfeit of sex and violence.

The board chairman, Jack Christie, said he was finally convinced to dump Disney after seeing clips from the Oscar-winning Pulp Fiction, produced by Miramax four years ago.

"It's not Mickey Mouse and Donald Duck anymore," grumbled one board member, "it's blowing people's heads off."

The Texas board of education and Southern Baptists, who are disgruntled at Disney's supposedly liberal policy on gays and lesbians, are the least of Disney's problems.

More serious is the continuing slump at ABC. For several years, the television network has failed to produce significant hits to match successes such as Ally McBeal and The X-Files at Rupert Murdoch's Fox television. The lack of a hit series has in turn weakened advertising revenue.

lowed that of Geraldine Laybourne as president of Disney/ABC Cable to start her own production company.

Disney insists that it has enough management depth to overcome these high-level losses, but the departures highlight what is called the Eisner Syndrome — his inability to keep top talent.

In recent years, Disney has lost Jeffrey Katzenberg, who stormed off after being passed over for the number two job, Michael Ovitz, who quit with a golden parachute worth more than \$100 million. Other important but less-known executives such as Rich Frank and Richard Nunn have also gone elsewhere.

On top of ABC's uninspiring performance, Disney has this year failed to repeat the film successes of 1997 such as 101 Dalmatians, Miramax's The English Patient, Disney's prestige films this year — Robert Redford's The Horse Whisperer, Harrison Ford's Six Days and Seven Nights and He Got Game with Denzel Washington — have been damp squibs.

Disney's summer hopes are now pinned on Mulan, a cartoon about a Chinese girl warrior, and Armageddon, the summer's second movie about a giant asteroid on a collision course with Earth.

ANALYSTS have pared back profit estimates. David Londoner of Schroder, has sharply revised estimates for Disney's creative content arm (films and videos), the company's biggest generator of profits. For the third quarter, Mr Londoner has reduced profit projections by 35 per cent to about \$167 million.

A sharp decline in merchandise sales in Asia adds to the gloom. On the plus side, Disney can expect a lift in its theme park business with the opening of Animal Kingdom, near Orlando, Florida, although here again, business may have been less than stellar because of the strike that raged for weeks in the state.

Despite all its problems, Disney, which split its stock three-for-one on Friday, still increased by 15.5 per cent this year, about the same as the S&P 500. Industrial Average. But analysts are not looking for any more big increases in Disney's share price for the time being.

Undeterred by its difficulties, Disney is nevertheless plunging into new ventures.

Last month, it bought a 43 per cent stake in Infoseek, the Internet search engine, plus an option to buy another 10 per cent in exchange for about \$200 million.

Earlier Disney had decided to buy the two-thirds that it did not already own of Starwave, a Web publisher.

Tina Brown is joining Miramax to publish books and a magazine, and produce films and television. It will be a big job to inaugurate projects for the vast Disney empire. Ms Brown is Disney's latest attempt at synergy, still an unrealised concept for Mr Eisner. As long as Disney remains less than the sum of its parts, shareholders who have bristled at Mr Eisner's salary of almost \$245 million last year — will only get grumpier.

Mr Burke's departure followed the announcement that he was leaving the company.

Diageo tequila row 'no crisis'

Ian King and Lisa Buckingham

DIAGEO, the world's biggest spirits company, is playing down talk of a crisis in its distribution arm, following news last week of a dispute with Jose Cuervo, the world's biggest tequila-maker.

Diageo, which distributes 36 million litres a year of Jose Cuervo in North America, is fighting an attempt by the Mexican group to renegotiate the terms of a distribution agreement which extends until 2010.

But there have been suggestions in the drinks industry that Diageo — formed last year from the £24 billion merger between Guinness and GrandMet — could face problems with other similar deals, notably a UK agreement with Brown Forman, maker of Southern Comfort and Jack Daniels.

Cuervo, which previously had a distribution agreement with GrandMet, is arguing

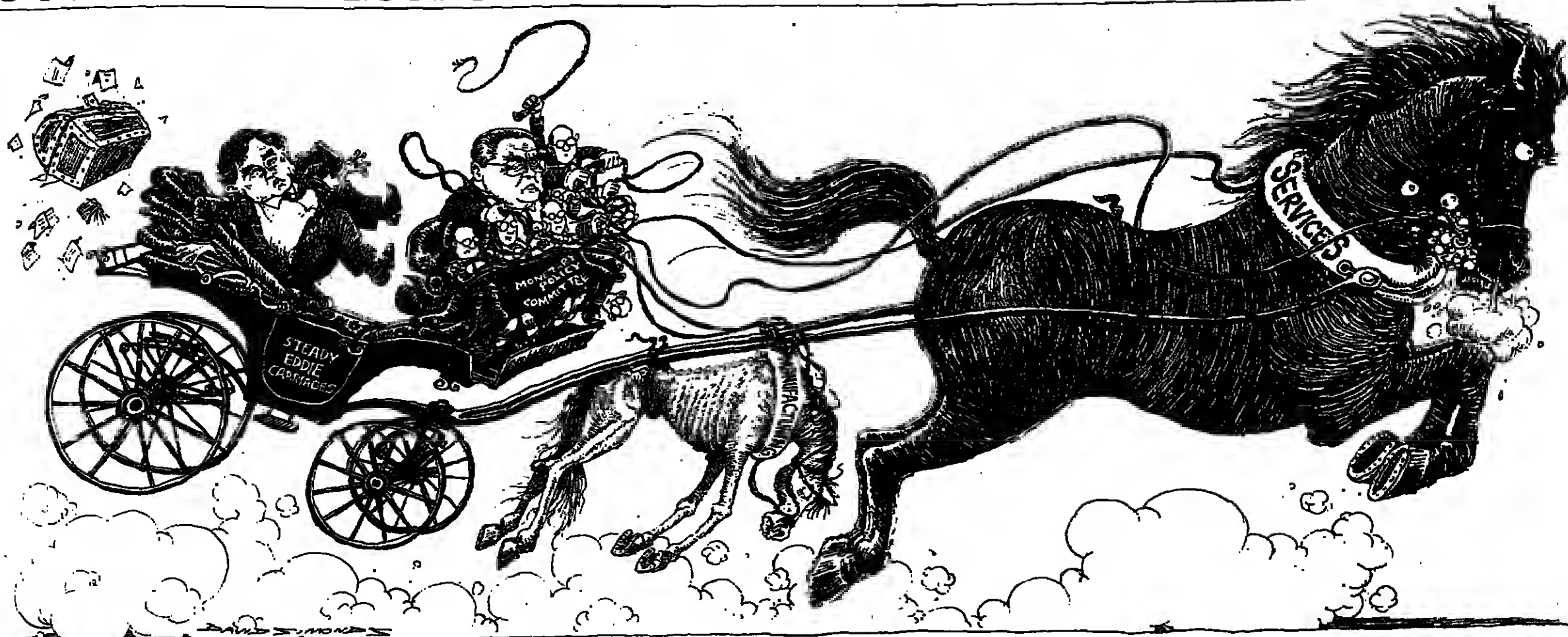
that the merger gives it the right to renegotiate terms.

Diageo, which has a 45 per cent stake in Cuervo, has taken action in the US federal court in San Antonio, Texas. It is thought that the court could take up to nine months to decide.

The row is similar to that last year in which Louis Vuitton Moët Hennessey, the French luxury goods group which previously held a 15 per cent stake in Guinness, threatened to renegotiate its distribution deals on the grounds that there had been a change in the control of Guinness.

Responding to suggestions that it could face further disputes, a Diageo spokesman said the company owned most of its brands — which include Smirnoff vodka, Johnnie Walker whisky and Gordon's gin.

He said the only distribution agreement aside from the LVMH names where Diageo did not control the brand involved, or hold a stake in it, was that covering Southern Comfort and Jack Daniels.



A plea for plodding bankers



Larry Elliott

LIKE Steve Davis, the snooker player, the Bank of England's monetary policy committee would like to be boring. It has no desire to bog the headlines, no urge to be the centre of attention every month when the time comes to make a decision on interest rates.

Fat chance. In his letter to Eddie George confirming operational independence for the Bank on May 6 last year, Gordon Brown told the Governor that Labour was committed to "ensure that decisions on monetary policy are more effective, open, accountable and free from short-term political manipulation".

The key word here is "effective". Policy is certainly "open" under the new sys-

tem. Indeed, it is perhaps too open, encouraging as it does frenzied speculation about the voting intentions of each of the nine members of the committee and how they might be swayed by each and every piece of economic data that emerges between one meeting and the next.

In the current context, "more effective decision-making" means the committee should do a better job in avoiding a recession than Mr Brown would. Had he retained the old system, the trick is to take the heat out of the economy without causing hefty falls in output, investment and employment.

Out in the big, wide world there seems to be little confidence that this is what the committee is doing. On the contrary, there are plenty of people in the City, industry and the trade unions who are convinced that the Bank is about to send the economy spiralling into an utterly pointless recession.

And make no mistake, it would be utterly pointless. To hear Mr Brown talk, you would think that he had inherited an economy in May last year only one or two steps away from 1923-style

German hyperinflation, as opposed to the best economic inheritance a Labour government has ever enjoyed.

Little more than a year on, manufacturing is in recession and is being hit by high interest rates, the strength of the pound and the Asian crisis. However, as anybody who has ventured out to the streets on a Friday or Saturday night recently can testify, there is not yet much evidence of recession spreading to the rest of the economy.

If we do suffer a hard landing, it will be the result of monetary decisions taken since the election rather than of what the Chancellor's aides call "Ken Clarke's non-decisions". In the six months running up to polling day, the notion that Mr Clarke can be made the fall-guy if things go badly wrong over the next 12 months is risible; there is only one possible fall-guy on offer — the current incumbent of 11 Downing Street.

Mr Brown is not averse to the idea of a mini-slowdown over the next few months, provided that it is not something worse. Labour's strategists recall that Bill Clinton engineered a growth pause early in his first term, which

allowed him to take the brakes off during his re-election campaign in 1996.

But if things do turn nasty, there is not an awful lot the Chancellor can do. Obviously the Asian meltdown is out of the Government's hands, and Mr Brown shares Nigel Lawson's view that fiscal policy should be about making structural changes to the supply side of the economy rather than demand management, and monetary policy is left to the committee.

So is the Chancellor starting to repent the haste with which he willingly surrendered one of the main instruments of macro-economic management? The short answer is no, although it would be surprising if that were not the case. When Mr Brown is being bumped around in the back of the carriage — felt like elbowing Mr George aside and taking the reins himself. In particular, the Chancellor would have raised rates earlier and more aggressively to minimise the shock treatment to wage bargainers, a course of action which he believes would have raised rates to come down more rapidly thereafter.

The MPC sees things differently, as Mervyn King, one of

the Bank's deputy governors, explained in an elegant lecture last October. Quoting the International Monetary Fund's Stanley Fischer, he said the Bank had to get the judgment right on the speed at which to reduce inflation. Where there was uncertainty about the impact of an interest rate change on the economy "it may be sensible to move cautiously to the level of interest rates that would be necessary to ensure expected inflation over the appropriate horizon with the target level, rather than move rates abruptly and inject undesirable volatility into the economy".

PROF King added a further point: "The MPC is under no illusion that it can abolish the business cycle. Over a number of years, monetary policy can ensure that inflation averages a level of around 2.5 per cent. But it cannot control output, and it would be a mistake to try to do so."

This, then, is the theory. As Prof King puts it: "A transparent monetary policy implies that announcements of changes in interest rates by

the MPC might come as rather little surprise. The news would not be in the outcome of the meetings of the MPC, but in the economic statistics published during the month. Markets would be able to anticipate the likely reaction of the MPC, and the decisions by the MPC would follow a predictable policy reaction function."

In practice, this is not happening. Far from considering the Bank's decisions predictable, the markets see them as inconsistent, even capricious. In the City, there is understandable confusion as to what the Bank is up to. What, for instance, was the point of last month's rate rise? Did the MPC believe that it had erred in not raising rates earlier and had fallen behind the game? If so, why did rates not go up again this week? If, on the other hand, the Bank thought that 0.25 percentage points was enough to hit the inflation target, then why not say so? The City, believing that rates had peaked, would have started selling sterling.

This brings us back to the central issue of effectiveness. It has been clear for the past 14 months that the real problem with the economy is that

it is seriously unbalanced and needs precisely the sort of treatment it received after Black Wednesday. Interest rates and the pound need to come down, with the extra spending power mopped up through much higher taxes on consumption. There have been some increases in consumer taxation since last May, but they have been dwarfed by the windfalls paid out by former mutual organisations. It would have been far better for the Chancellor to have kept control of both monetary and fiscal policy.

This is not just a question of accountability; it reflects design flaws in the system. Decisive action is more likely from a chancellor in a government with a majority of 180 than from a committee of nine people. Committees by their nature prefer non-action; they tend towards compromise. Nudging up rates in quarter-point moves has probably been the worst option of all, since the result has been to prolong and intensify the squeeze on manufacturing through an overvalued exchange rate while having virtually no impact on consumers.

The emphasis on open decision-making may accentuate

the bias towards inertia. Releasing voting records shortly after meetings increases the pressure on members of the committee to be able to justify how their decision is compatible with hitting the inflation target.

Finally, there is the question of the target itself. Why the Government chose this form of central bank independence has never been made clear: nor does there seem to be any rationale to the figure of 2.5 per cent. If we are to have central bank independence, it is arguable that we would be better off with a New Zealand-style system, where the bank's governor is solely responsible, or an American system, where the Federal Reserve Open Market Committee is required to pay attention to a variety of objectives, including stable prices, growth and unemployment, but has no specific targets.

It may be, of course, that it is taking time for the British system to bed down, and that before too long the Bank will enjoy the anonymity that comes from being boring. But it had better get a move on. At the moment, it is simply too interesting. Too interesting by half.

Poverty strikes when Cyclops is sovereign

Debate

Kevin Watkins

IN THE land of the blind, the one-eyed man is king — and when it comes to addressing problems in the crisis-prone global financial system, the one-eyed man of Wall Street and the International Monetary Fund are firmly in control.

During the 1980s, the destructive power of capital markets has been seen in Mexico, East Asia and Russia. The scenario has become all too familiar. Unexplained euphoria takes hold and sucks vast sums into unstable markets, generating huge profits for foreign investors. Then panic takes hold, capital takes flight, the currency collapses and the IMF sprouts into action, galloping in the real world suggests otherwise.

Take the case of Indonesia. This year, the economy will contract by 15 to 20 per cent, dragging another 40 million into poverty. Investment has collapsed, due to high rates and import shortages.

Unemployment has tripled to over 20 per cent. Thousands of private companies, viable before the crisis, have been pushed into bankruptcy.

Meanwhile public spending on health and education has

fallen by a third, as the government transfers resources into debt repayments. Such facts explain why the World Bank's chief economist, Joseph Stiglitz, remains resolutely opposed to capital market liberalisation.

When a forced devaluation quadrupled Indonesia's external debt, the IMF loan secured repayments for foreign banks from creating a risk-free casino for reckless foreign speculators, the IMF is now seeking to expand their gambling outlets.

At present, Vietnam forbids foreign banks from holding more than 10 per cent of operating capital in dollars. In Chile, short-term equity flows are heavily taxed to prevent speculative activity. Such measures have helped to prevent a build-up of unsustainable foreign debt, yet they would be outlawed under the new IMF regime.

Radically different approaches are needed. Institutional investors such as mutual and pension-fund managers should be required to make provisions for losses commensurate with the risk of their investments.

This would help reduce the incentives for high-risk, speculative investment and simultaneously lower the potential for financial panic. So too, would an international tax on currency transactions.

Better international surveillance of banking systems would also help at the margins, but the best way to ensure prudent lending is through international rules of the IMF.

Productivity may be a headache but consumption certainly isn't. Both companies and households have made colossal sums out of the British market since the 1920s.

In the case of Rover, now of course under overseas ownership, these huge sums include not only the profits of car sales to the public but handouts from the taxpayer amounting to perhaps £2 billion, along with the huge indirect subsidy represented by all the

Charlotte Denny on monetarism

Economics made easy

WHAT IS monetarism? It is a school of economics arguing that inflation is primarily caused by excessive growth in the money supply. The most famous exponent is the American economist, Milton Friedman, who wrote a history of the United States linking booms and recessions to fluctuations in the growth rate of money.

Why was this important? At the time, most economists were influenced by John Maynard Keynes, who said that if economies showed signs of going into recession, governments should boost demand by expanding the money supply.

Friedman said this would not affect output or employment — the real economy — but would result simply in prices going up. In fact, intervention was destabilising because policy changes take so long to feed through.

What did he advocate instead? Governments should manage money supply, not economies. If the government made sure that the stock of money expanded at a rate compatible with the long-run growth rate of the economy, there would be no big swings in output.

What did Keynesians say? They said that monetarists confused causation with correlation. It is like arguing that because every December there are deliveries of turkeys to supermarkets, the increase in the turkey supply must be causing Christmas.

Why did his ideas become popular? Because he correctly predicted that the watered-down version of Keynesianism would run into trouble. Policymakers had become convinced that there was trade-off between inflation and unemployment — the so-called Phillips curve — which sug-

gested that countries could lower jobless rates by accepting a higher level of inflation.

Does monetarism work? The most comprehensive experiment was in Britain, where for almost seven years after Margaret Thatcher's election, policy was run along monetarist lines. Targets for money supply growth were set each year. The result was one of the deepest recessions Britain has ever known. Inflation came down, but only at the cost of a huge rise in unemployment, and the government exceeded its targets almost every year.

Oh, all right then on the labour front

Worm's eye

Dan Atkinson

CYNICS once suggested an alternative motto for the trade union movement: "Oh, all right then."

Similarly, the phrase "we have to accept that" will be bad enough. What are we frightened of? These entities have no independent existence and are created by the legal system and its enforcement mechanism within this country. With no courts to enforce their contacts and no police to protect their plant Vauxhall and Rover would be in a sad state; productivity would be the least of their worries.

But even worse than doing nothing would be swift action from on high to whip the British workforce into shape to make it acceptable to these grand corporate actors.

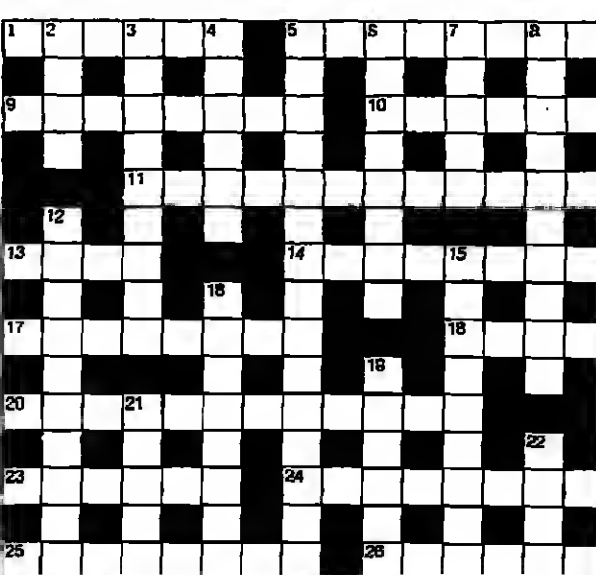
If there is one thing more objectionable than standing back and allowing international business to do as it will, it is the shifting of all blame for the result on to the victims — the "unproductive", inflexible workforce.

This blame-shifting is part of a wider process whereby all risk is loaded on to the financial interest. Only when somebody calls in Rover and Vauxhall for a lesson in the facts of life is any change likely. Until then we must put up with calls to close "the productivity gap".

In other words: oh, all right then.

Guardian Crossword No 21,325

Set by Rufus



Across

- 1 Beguiled having to compete in the final round (6)
- 5 A bit like West Ham, nothing special (6)
- 9 Recall soldiers and arm (6)
- 10 Cut lumber (6)
- 11 When moved, mother and father may talk thus (4,3,5)
- 13 The key to baby's sleeping accommodation (4)
- 14 Make oneself useful and satisfy the wife (6)
- 17 One running out of clothes (6)
- 18 Placed a number on benefit (4)
- 20 Some time in the past (6,6)
- 23 Time taken by a secretary (6)
- 24 Snuggled wines and rifles (6)
- 25 Solid block of cars (6)
- 26 Good number joining expedition (6)

Down

- 2 You want to be in it (4)
- 3 Unusually fine story with a moral that defies description (9)
- 4 He must have been given credit for something (6)
- 5 One helping to remove litter from the field (9,6)
- 6 Highly skilful apprentice put in complete control (6)
- 7 Jam in a slice of cake (6)
- 8 Embellishments are due, like another name for Edinburgh (4,6)
- 12 Brothers terribly ant in play (10)
- 15 Sensational entertainment (6)
- 16 Sad about relative, he becomes a young gangster (6)
- 19 This drink can go a hundred years back (6)



WINNERS OF PRIZE PUZZLE 21,318
This week's winners of a Collins English Dictionary are T Sarwood of Southport, Merseyside, P J Coleman of Southport, Merseyside, Mrs V Stansfield of Bridlington, East Yorkshire, and R Forbes of Stockbridge, Edinburgh.

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WEDNESDAY — UK: Unemployment (June)

UK: Average earnings (April)

UK: Unit labour costs (May)

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كتاب الاقتصاد

In the acclaimed 12-page sports section



Open season
Lee Westwood
sets out
his stall
21

Final flourish
Essex revel in
their delayed
cup victory
24

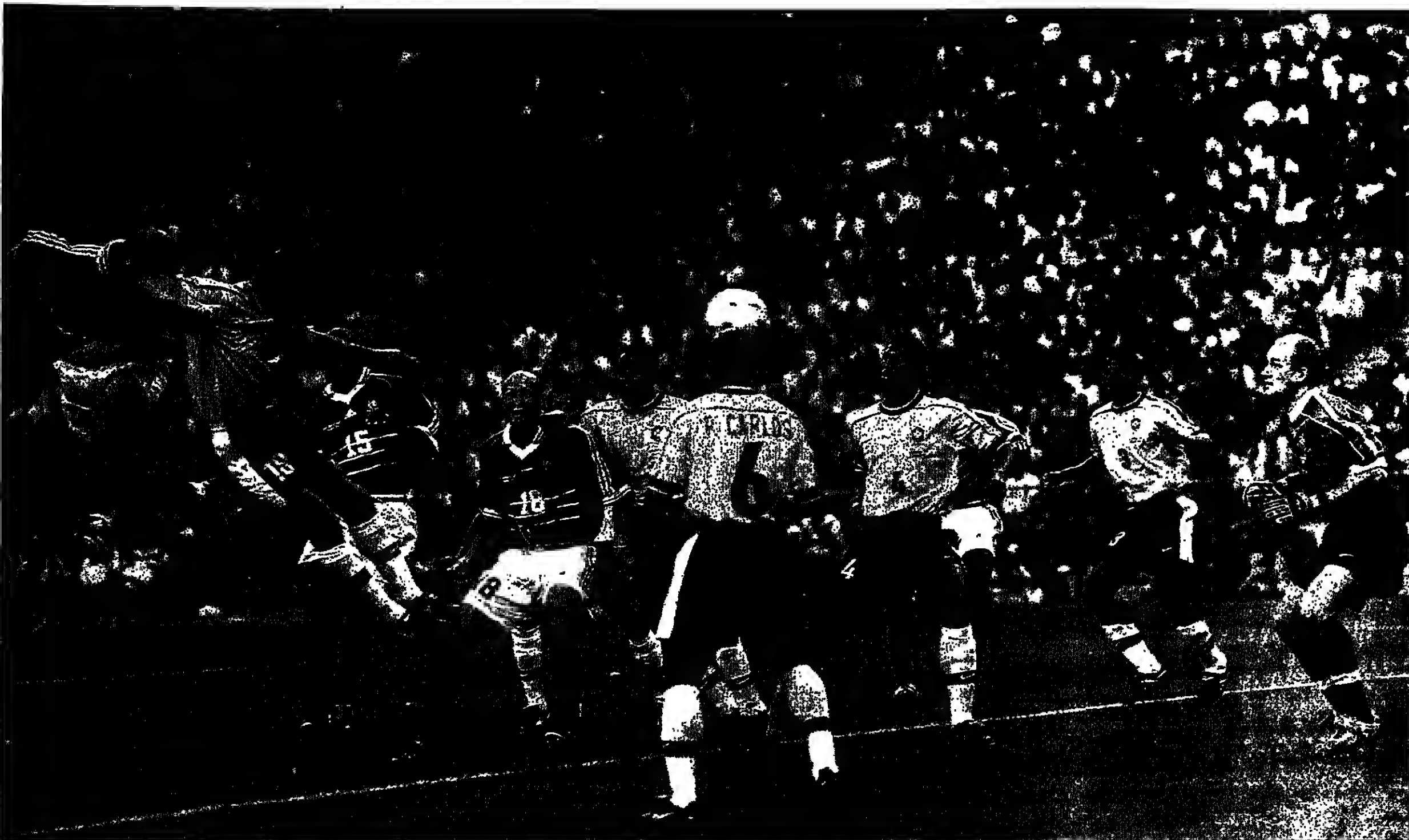
Other pages
France 98 18-20
Motor Racing 21-22
Golf 21-23
Cricket 24
Tour de France, Rugby 25
Racing 26

The Guardian Sport

Monday July 13 1998 www.football.guardian.co.uk

France 98: the final reckoning

France on top of the world



Allez France... Brazil's defence is left standing as Zinedine Zidane heads the opening goal for the hosts at Stade de France last night

PHOTOGRAPH: CLIVE BRUNSKILL

World Cup final: Brazil 0 France 3

Zidane's double leads the rout as hosts put paid to below-par Brazil

David Lacey in St-Denis

THE head of Zinedine Zidane brought France a remarkable and historic World Cup triumph here last night. Two nods from the Marseille-born Juventus midfielder gave the French a 2-0 half-time lead over a Brazilian side who chose this game of all games to fall collectively below form. Then in injury time Emmanuel Petit held off Cafu and hit a left-foot drive to put the game beyond reach.

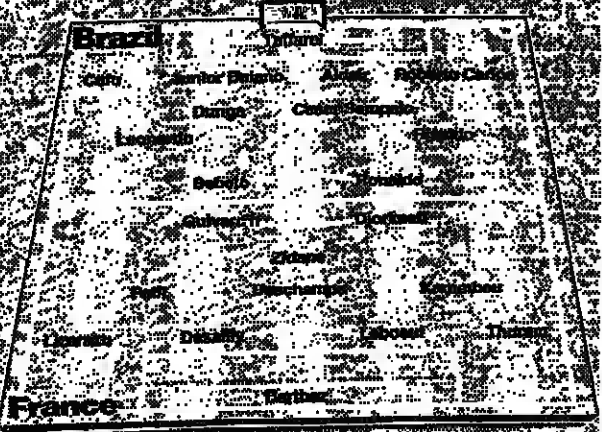
Seeking their fifth World Cup by retaining the trophy twice, Brazil's pre-match preparations were stalled by the late hospital check on Ronaldo's left ankle and he was cleared to play by the team doctors only 45 minutes before the kick-off.

Originally the Brazilians had Edmundo down to play in Ronaldo's place and their players did not come out before the start for their customary warm-up. Once the final began France took the initiative and never lost it.

They did, however, lose Marcel Desailly, already hooked for dissent, to a second yellow card midway through the second half after a foul on Cafu.

Recent finals had so often failed to live up to expectations that it was unwise to hope for too much. All the occasion could reasonably ask for was a half-decent game, which would at least be half as good again as the final of four years ago.

Last night's match had more going for it. To start



with neither side had been dragged across a sub-continent with minimal time to recover from their semi-final, Italy's fate in the United States before losing to the Brazilians on penalties after a sterile scoreless draw.

The fact that the hosts had reached the final for the first time since Argentina 20 years earlier gave the evening an added lilt. Brazil were clear favourites and for France to beat them would be the highest upset in a World Cup final since West Germany defeated Hungary, against all the odds, in 1966. But even without the suspended Laurent Blanc the French still possessed the sort of solid defensive base from which victory often springs.

It was a combustible start by the French that saw two chances fall the way of Stéphane Guivarc'h in the opening five minutes. He failed to capitalise on either.

First Youri Djorkaeff found him in space near goal with a searching ball from the right. Junior Balano's challenge was cumbersome and Guivarc'h's overhead shot landed on the roof of the net.

The second was less forgivable. Zinedine Zidane exchanged brisk passes with Djorkaeff and again Brazil were exposed as Guivarc'h was sent through the middle by Zidane. But his touch was poor and a stumble did not help.

Nevertheless France continued to control the early stages, with Didier Deschamps, Petit and Djorkaeff the masters of midfield and able to carry the play to the opposition at will.

Little was seen initially of Brazil's attack apart from the odd exploratory move down the flanks. With Dunga kept busy defensively little of consequence was coming through to Ronaldo and Bebeto.

All the same this was an anxious period for the French. Teams who gain the ascendancy over Brazil need to mark the moment with a goal. All France had done was remind everybody of their lack of a natural scorer.

Midway through the first half Fabien Barthez offered an increasingly grey game a spot of light relief by catching a centre from Ronaldo with one hand and then nearly carrying the ball over the line with the other. A minute later, more seriously, the French goalkeeper had to move quickly to keep out a header from Rivaldo following Leonardo's corner.

Another minute, another corner, and this time a goal — but for France, not Brazil. Petit's inswinging kick from the right evaded Lilian Thuram but behind him Zidane was already getting above Leonardo to meet the ball with a sharp downward header past Taffarel.

This was hardly the plot many had expected but the scoreline was no fluke. France deserved their lead for they had played with more aggression, better organisation and greater discipline.

Little at that point was going right for the holders. Ronaldo surged through the middle only to be battered, innocently enough, by Barthez's determination in leaving his line to beat him to the ball. Bebeto slunk around the outside of the French defence to meet a cross from Leonardo but could get no power into his header.

Not so Zidane: both he and France were heading for glory. On the stroke of half-

time Guivarc'h should have scored after Thuram's long ball from the right had been missed by Junior Balano. With only Taffarel to beat he saw his shot pushed wide by the Brazil goalkeeper.

From Djorkaeff's corner on the left, however, Zidane thrust his way through the defence, brushed Dunga aside and again nodded the ball down into the net. For a player who had waited until now to score his first goals in the tournament Zidane's sense of timing was inspired.

Brazil, for the most part, had been far from inspired. It took nothing away from the French performance, and especially their midfielders, to judge this easily the Brazilians' poorest first half of the tournament.

Now they needed a quick goal. To this end Leonardo, ineffective on the right, gave way to Denilson in the hope that the latter would give the attack more pace and penetration on the left.

In the central areas near the French goal, however, Desailly and Frank Leboeuf continued to rule. Ronaldo seldom moved far from Desailly's shadow and when he did shake off the defence to exploit a cleverly-worked free-kick by Rivaldo and Roberto Carlos to give himself a clear shot from close range Barthez not only stopped it but held it.

SUBSTITUTIONS Brazil: Denilson for Leonardo, 45; Edmundo for Samuel, 75 min.

FRANCE Deschamps for Karembeu, 50; Dugarry for Guivarc'h, 55; Vieira for Djorkaeff, 70

SENT OFF: Desailly

BOOKED: Brazil: Junior Balano, Fabiano Deschamps, Desailly, Karembeu, Rivaldo, S. Sampaio (Morocco).

« La Philosophie de World Cup »

In which two French café intellectuals chew over this week's World Cup moments. All conversations lubricated by the best loved premium beer in France.



When we hail our defeated players as heroes, is it that our need for pain outweighs the need for victory?

Morning, Claude. A glorious victory, was it not? Indeed. And yet were we watching the real winners? Fake goal?

Many would say that it was precisely those who took the early plane home who contributed most to the entertainment.

Ah, the naïve Nigerians, Craig Brown's Barry Army, the slippery customers from Morocco, the comical little Americans.

Yes, they played their part. But only one nation actually turned defeat into victory.

Don't tell me... It was England. Compare their homecoming to that of other defeated teams.

The Colombians were obliged to stop off the plane in bullet-proof vests. The English lads

were hailed as heroes. Odd, that.

On the contrary. Once again, the English were able to lose themselves in the exquisite pleasure of shared grief. How appropriate that the country which Sartre so derided should have perfectly illustrated his theory of sado-masochism. You mean, Greek Street, Madame Whiplash, third floor...?

Well, yes. Of course we've always known that there's nothing that the English like more than being pegged out on a croquet lawn by a dirty foreign girl in a riot skirt and bondage boots but... What, all of them?

No, what I'm saying is... Big Ron? Kevin Keegan? Sir Butech Wilkins? Sal Campbell? All pegged out on a croq...?

No, patron. Jimmy Hill in his St George bow-tie? The yobs in their bowler hats? Back to Back to be...?

No, listen The Two Fat Ladies? The Girls with Attitude? Denise van Outen, Sara Cox, Jo "Be My" Guest? Straight out of the TFI Friday studio, down to the nearest croquet lawn, slip out of their...?

No, patron! Not individuals. I'm talking about the English psyche — a national state of mind which luxuriates in the pain of submission, the climactic ecstasy of humiliation. Tina Turner? Bill Oddie? Brian Blessed?

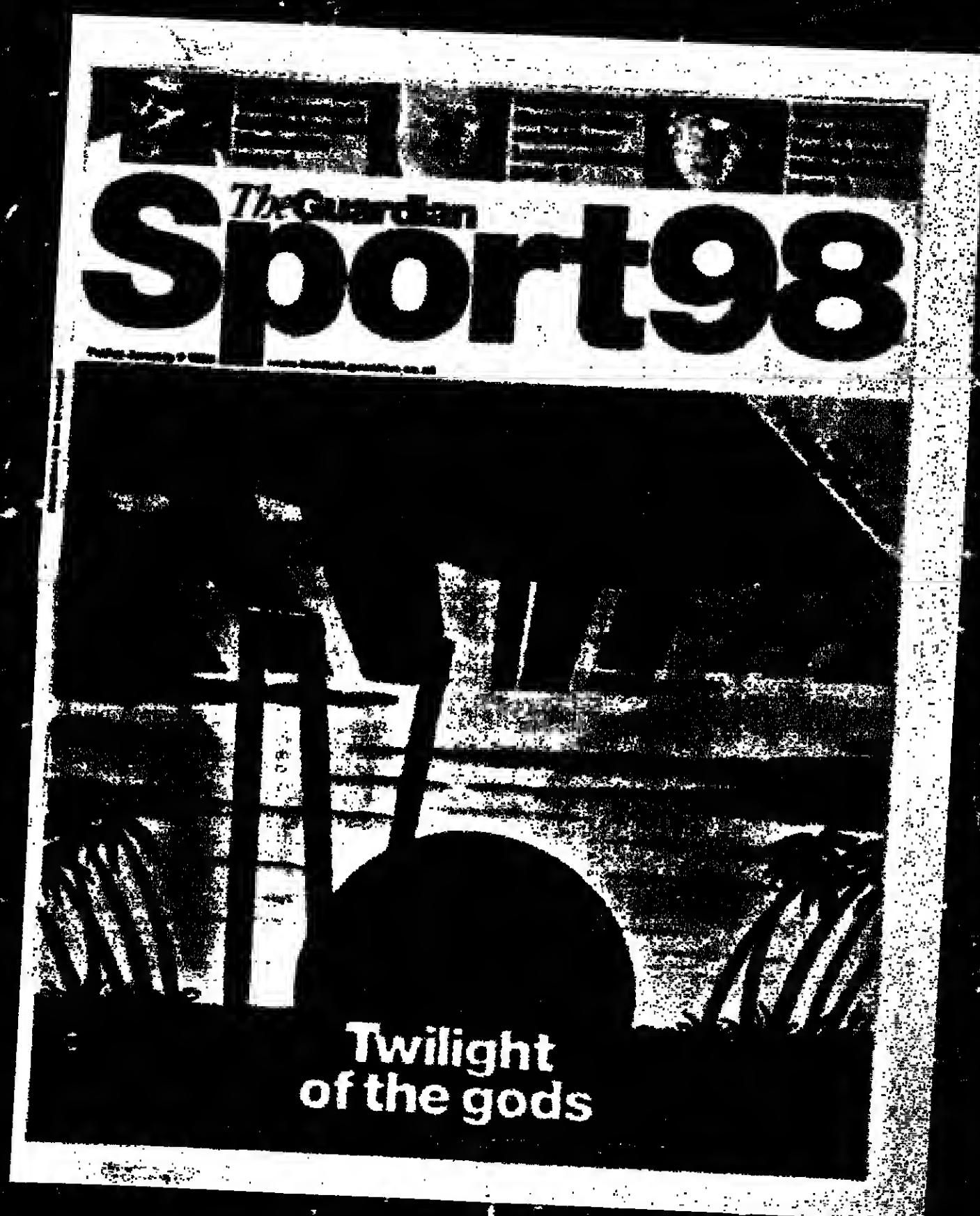
That's it. I've had enough. Adieu, patron.

Torance Blacker & William Donatson

« the exquisite pleasure of shared grief »



If it's in the game, it's in...



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France 98: the final reckoning

The arrival of two World Cup winners at Tottenham 20 years ago changed the face of English football. Joe Bernstein on the Argentinians who sparked a revolution

The coup that started the foreign invasion

ANY season which follows a World Cup needs a rattling good yarn to ward off a feeling of anticlimax. It happened in 1978 when Alan Sugar cornered Jürgen Klinsmann on a yacht and persuaded him to sign for Tottenham (history does not relate whether the German dived off in celebration). Four years earlier post-1968 fatigue was swept away on the tide of Gazza-mania which gripped the nation until August and beyond.

But for sheer shock value nothing could top the sensational news 20 years ago this week when Spurs, fresh out of the Second Division, signed Ossie Ardiles and Ricky Villa.

'Ossie was fed up with Jankovic diving. As he jogged past the referee he said 'bloody foreigner'

newly crowned World Cup winners with Argentina.

In 1978 foreign stars were a rarity in England, particularly those good enough to win the World Cup with nimble footwork, quick passing and excellent technique. The timing of their arrival at White Hart Lane was stunning, coming only two weeks after Argentina had beaten Holland 3-1 in the final in Buenos Aires to trigger the Mother of all ticker-tape parties.

Their physical differences — broad, bearded Villa every inch the Gaucho; Ardiles with less flesh than a Fiat racing jockey — only increased the English public's anticipation. Surprisingly the lesser-known Villa was the more expensive purchase, costing £375,000 from Racing Club in Buenos Aires, £50,000 more than Spurs paid Huracan for Ardiles.

As a pair they were box-office dynamite. Some 10,000 turned out to watch their first training session, 41,000 their debut at Nottingham Forest (Villa scored in a 1-1 draw). Thousands were added to the gate wherever Spurs played.



Movers and shakers... the World Cup winners Ossie Ardiles, left, and Ricky Villa get to grips with Spurs fans at White Hart Lane in July 1978 after their unexpected arrival from Argentina.

FRANK MARTIN

"We were surprised by the interest," Ardiles recalled from his home in Japan, where he manages the J-League team Shimizu S-Pulse. "Ricky and I wanted to play in Europe and everyone expected us to go where the Argentinians normally go — France, Spain or Italy. But the first offer on the table was from Spurs. We had to say yes or no, and we said yes. Ricky had one or two doubts but I wasn't worried; I was excited."

The blunt Yorkshire home truths of Tottenham's manager Keith Burkinshaw went

down a row in Buenos Aires and the deals were completed in 72 hours. Spurs cleverly arranged for the Villa and Ardiles to live together in a house large enough to accommodate both sets of wives, children, parents, aunts and uncles. As a further aid to acclimatisation, the club made sure the players were on the guest list of every social function organised by the Argentine Embassy.

On the pitch, however, the euphoria quickly vanished. Their home debut ended in a 4-1 defeat by Aston Villa and

a 7-0 pounding at Liverpool followed in September. The "they-won't-last-three-months brigade" led by Derby County's manager Tommy Docherty — were rubbing their hands with glee. Ardiles might have thrived on providing service to Kempes and Luque but he was finding life far tougher linking with John Lucy and John Zoff. He and Villa, playing in an ordinary side, struggling with the language and for ever the target of

hatchet men, needed time to find their feet. "I went berserk during a League Cup tie at Swansea when Tommy Smith kicked Ossie all over the place," said Burkinshaw. "Tommy said after the game that this was what English football was all about but I didn't think putting your boot halfway up an opponent's leg was football. I was worried. I didn't want a terrific player like Ossie booted out of the game but, to be fair, my two lads were superb professionals and got through it."

Ossie was only 9½ stone wet through but he was perpetual motion on the pitch and, if he gave the ball away once in 50 minutes, I would be surprised. The turning point was the 7-0 defeat at Liverpool. The Argentinian lads couldn't believe how English football was played. They realised that day they couldn't swan about in midfield but really had to compete, and we went out and won the next two league games."

Ardiles's class and popularity — "I was surprised to see the amount team-mates used to drink after games but I switched from Coca-Cola to beer and quickly became one of the boys" — opened the way for dozens of overseas players. Managers in England rushed to look abroad for talent, although for every success like the Ipswich pair Arnold Muhren and Franz Thilissen there was a failure such as Didier Six (Aston Villa), Alberto Tarantini (Birmingham) or Vladimir Petrovic (Aston Villa).

Ardiles thinks the class of 1978-82 had harder than the likes of Bergkamp, Ginola and Flo. "If somebody touches them, it's a foul," he said. "The referees protect the forward players. When I played, the tactics were really flying around and it went unnoticed by the referee."

Despite Eric Cantona's wages, there is still no better advert for foreign players than Ardiles. There were so many highlights, not least the 1981 FA Cup final, which was special for both South Ameri-

cans. Villa scored a magnificent winner in the replay against Manchester City and Ossie sang on Top of the Pops with Chas and Dave. Ardiles also had a pivotal role in helping his Spurs team-mate

Glenn Hoddle develop into one of England's greatest midfield players. Even the Falklands War could not drive a lasting wedge between Ardiles and his adopted home, although

he went on loan to Paris St-Germain during the conflict and missed Tottenham's 1982 FA Cup final win. He returned to play for Spurs, Blackburn and Queens Park Rangers until 1989, when he began a managerial career which took him to Swindon, Newcastle, West Bromwich and Spurs before Alan Sugar sacked him in 1994.

Villa was not the perfect Anglophile like his compatriot and, when he left White Hart Lane in 1983, it was for Fort Lauderdale Strikers. From there he went to Colombia and then back to Argentina, where he lives in the ranch he owns outside Buenos Aires. "It was great living in England but I didn't like the cold," he said. "I hate having to stay in so the outside life in Argentina suits me better. I try to keep in touch with the football and England will always mean something special to me. After all, my two daughters were born there."

Burkinshaw, now director of football at Aberdeen, is "in deep despair about the number of foreign players in British football". Of course it was he who started the trend, the man he regrets most. "I watched Ossie on television during the World Cup and I thought it was a hoax when Bill Nicholson came into my office and told me they were available," he said. "It turned out to be the easiest transfer I have ever had to do. They were exceptional players and Ossie was such a nice fella, as well as a talented player."

"His sense of humour helped him through. I remember a match at Middlesbrough when Bozo Jankovic kept diving around trying to win a free-kick. Ossie was fed up with it and as he jogged past the referee he muttered 'bloody foreigner'."

Everything Ardiles did in those days added to the debate about whether "fancied" foreigners are cut out for our game. Few could have guessed there would come a day when a Danish World Cup star would sign for Chelsea on £75,000 a week — and no one would bat an eyelid.

Clogger

A (final) furtive glance at France 98

Injury time Like a tableau of medical progress, the World Cup started with a rash of gruesome, first world war-style bandages (Balakov v Paraguay Sellimi v England) and ended with exquisite hairnet affairs (Cannavaro v France, right; Jarni v France) which miraculously protected the wearer from everything but ridicule. **Out on a limb** Among the curious physical attributes on display in France were Marc Overmars's terrifyingly pockmarked knees, the Iranian goalkeeper Ashkanolahi's mysterious vanished fingers, Junior Balon's monstrous thighs, and the amazing variety of prominent noses which seemed to be compulsory among the Dutch. **Feigning the worst** In his one-half-hour interview with England players was unimpeachably dull, the sole exception being Tony Adams's unprovoked insistence that he was "sleeping with Paul Merson." "Obviously we don't share beds, I want to get that perfectly straight," sounds like too much therapy. **Signal failure** Most business coach's signal came from Bernd Vogts, right, after Jürgen Klinsmann went off injured in the closing stages against

Yugoslavia. With impeccable logic Vogts frantically held up 10 fingers to indicate the number of players Germany had left on the pitch. **Tales of the expected** First player sent off is a Bulgarian; South Korea's nearest and most attractive but lost all their games; the British government's claim that people would be refused entry with blackened faces proves false; England have three goals in the BBC's top 10. **Card sharks** Most unnecessary yellow surely went to Iveta Javet Zarruchek, who "left the field too slowly" when substituted against the US. **We expect the best** without... Slaven Bilic; Austria; St. Rensdref of Colombia; Suzana Warner... and Paul Gascoigne (oh, we did). **Manager was** Reunited with Kevin Keegan, the Dutch manager's only having one on-field punch-up, Dennis Vidmar setting up a goal against Finland by passing 20 passes and winning the resulting free-kick. **Rescued by their goalkeeper** And finally... in which game did Micky Huggins rescue some very "fancied" foreigners to his Spurs? Answers on a postcard.

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Fifa to collar shirt-pullers

FIFA must address the problem of shirt-pulling, the World Cup organising committee chairman Lennart Johansson said yesterday. Johansson, also president of the European governing body Uefa, said he had been struck by the number of instances of players pulling each other's shirts at the finals in France and said the problem had to be solved. "There has been offensive and fair football," he said, "but we have to do something about the grabbing of shirts."

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British Grand Prix

Tracking the bland leaders on the road to Dullsville

James Mitchell says F1 is in trouble when hair colour hits the headlines

FOR Formula One's image-makers, rain presents an awkward problem. Page Three models and grid girls in orange catsuits do not look glamorous when they are trying to force a smile in driving wind and pouring rain. In the bigger picture of grand prix racing's global appeal that does not matter too much — the rain and wind will not be visible in the pictures printed in the tabloids or men's magazines. But it does highlight something of the artifice of the stage-managed allure that has become a trademark of the sport.

The reality of F1 is that the perceived glamour is in short supply and the reality is hard work. The Formula One teams spend hours honing their high-tech pieces of machinery, working out tactics and debating difficulties, like the type of tyres to use. And a race like yesterday's, with changing weather conditions, makes the task all but impossible, turning what is an inexact science into little more than complicated guesswork.



Deep purple... Jacques Villeneuve shows off his coiffure for Silverstone

But hard work does not make headlines, and technical subtleties and rows over the rules are not what persuades spectators to pay a minimum of £40 to attend Saturday's qualifying session, or upwards of £80 for yesterday's race.

Those people pack Silverstone out year after year, no matter who the star attraction is. But whether they get value for money, even after a race of some tension, is a moot point. Silverstone, being a large, flat former aerodrome, does not have the quality of viewing positions that other tracks can boast, but it always makes more of an effort than most on the 16-race grand prix calendar, with an extensive programme of support races and air displays from the Red Arrows. But F1 has changed a great deal in the past few years. In the temporary shopping arcade that springs up behind the grandstands every year for the British Grand Prix, the concessions stands are now a model of corporate conformity, with only the official merchandise of the sport and teams on sale.

In the paddock, too, the company line is sacrosanct. Behind the facade of sponsor-speak and blandness, all the drivers are people in their own right. Yet it is a rare occurrence to hear any of them expressing their personal views publicly on genuine issues. They are too scared about what will happen to them — nearly everyone fears censure from either their team or the sport's governing body.

David Coulthard, who mooned at TV cameras for a joke over the weekend after being caught having a pee behind some bushes, is a good example. In private, Britain's leading hope for victory in yesterday's race is a charming, amusing man, one of the few drivers who would be as at home on a night out down the pub as he is donning fireproof overalls and helmet and racing life and limb at close to 200mph. In public, Coulthard is the sponsor's dream, clean-cut and adept at saying the right thing, but he shows no apparent human weaknesses to the camera and his public appeal is not as great as that of Damon Hill, a man with no realistic chance of victory now, but who has had the chance to develop a public persona through the trials and tribulations of being on the losing side in two battles with Michael Schumacher.



Mystery man... David Coulthard shows no apparent human weaknesses to the camera

PHOTOGRAPH: DAVID JONES

and says whatever he likes about his rivals on the track. But even he watches what he says on the more controversial issues. And while Jacques Villeneuve, who refuses to fall in line with the sport's unofficial smart-casual dress code, expresses his individuality by dying his hair purple after being motor racing's only peroxide blonde for a

year, the very fact that his appearance causes such a stir within the sport is symptomatic of the fact that there is often little else to get excited about. But if all this offends some, the people who run the sport care little. The TV audience continues to rise, despite the fact that the spectacle on the track is often poor, and the

spectators keep pouring through the gates. As the money rolls in from TV companies who cannot get enough and spectators who love the sport because they appreciate the skills of the drivers or the complexities of the battle of brains and technology on the track, Bernie Ecclestone sits in his big grey bus and smiles broadly.

Pollock wants to overtake with new life in the fast lane

Alan Henry on a man with a low profile who plans to make a high-speed impact

RAIG POLLOCK has a shrewd eye for the headlines. The man who bought the Tyrrell team in November as a launching pad for the new British American Racing team, with its £250 million, five-year to become sponsor budget, ensured that last week's unveiling of his new factory at Brackley was accompanied by plenty of media hype.

In characteristically confident fashion, Pollock not only hinted that he would like Jacques Villeneuve to drive for him, but also held out the possibility of a new Formula One super team, with Damon Hill alongside the Canadian world champion to revive the 1996 Williams line-up.

"Damon has a huge talent and I think he is totally underestimated in F1," said Pollock. "He is a world champion who has been a little bit forgotten and that shouldn't be, because he is a great champion."

Outside the confined world of the Formula One pit-lane, Pollock's name

may mean little; even insiders know precious little about him. "Villeneuve's manager," they shrug. Or "the guy who put together the British American Racing deal."

The quiet-spoken 42-year-old may be low on profile, but in the past two years he has become high on involvement and is poised to emerge as a key operator. Pollock was still a teacher and found himself with a new pupil, an 11-year-old called Jacques Villeneuve, who had been enrolled barely six months after his father Gilles crashed fatally in his Ferrari in Belgium.

"It was a pure teacher/student relationship," grins Pollock, "where Jacques was cast in the role of the little kid and I was the controller. But he was clearly a special kid."

Pollock left teaching to try his luck in what he refers to as "the big bad world of industry and commerce." Then came the vital break. By 1987 he found himself working for a Japanese manage-

ment company which, in turn, had an associate firm which owned the television rights to racing events held at Suzuka.

"We were selling TV rights in Japan for the motorcycle racing, world series rallies, sports cars and Formula One," he recalls, adding that this was the first time he became involved with Bernie Ecclestone's business interests.

Fast-forward eight years. Pollock was breakfasting with Villeneuve and Adrian Reynard after the driver's 1996 Indy 500 victory. He began probing Reynard on whether he would be interested in doing F1. "The only thing which is keeping us out," replied the car constructor, "is lack of long-term funding. And a driver, tyres and engine deal."

Pollock kept his mouth shut while privately thinking, "I can do that." So he spent the next three years convincing British American Tobacco that his way would be better for them than any other F1 team could offer.

And everybody else was there," said Pollock, "from Ron Dennis and Frank Williams down. It's a nice feather in my cap."

Full results from Silverstone

	1 Michael Schumacher (Germany) Ferrari	Time: 1:47.124 Average speed: 162.2 km/h
	2 Damon Hill (Great Britain) Williams	22.465 sec behind
	3 Jacques Villeneuve (Canada) Williams	29.198
	4 David Coulthard (Great Britain) McLaren	1 Lap
	5 Alexander Wurz (Austria) Benetton	1 Lap
	6 Giancarlo Fisichella (Italy) Benetton	1 Lap
	7 Ralf Schumacher (Germany) Jordan	1 Lap
	Other finishers 8. Eddie Irvine (Ireland) Ford 9. Nicky Attwood (Great Britain) Arden 10. Jos Verstappen (Netherlands) Arden 11. Pedro Diniz (Brazil) Arden 12. Olivier Panis (France) Prost 13. Jos Verstappen (Netherlands) Arden 14. Jos Verstappen (Netherlands) Arden 15. Jos Verstappen (Netherlands) Arden 16. Jos Verstappen (Netherlands) Arden 17. Jos Verstappen (Netherlands) Arden 18. Jos Verstappen (Netherlands) Arden 19. Jos Verstappen (Netherlands) Arden 20. Jos Verstappen (Netherlands) Arden 21. Jos Verstappen (Netherlands) Arden 22. Jos Verstappen (Netherlands) Arden	
	Drivers' championship 1. Michael Schumacher (Germany) 24 2. Damon Hill (Great Britain) 15 3. Jacques Villeneuve (Canada) 10 4. David Coulthard (Great Britain) 6 5. Alexander Wurz (Austria) 4 6. Giancarlo Fisichella (Italy) 3 7. Ralf Schumacher (Germany) 2 8. Eddie Irvine (Ireland) 1 9. Nicky Attwood (Great Britain) 0 10. Jos Verstappen (Netherlands) 0 11. Pedro Diniz (Brazil) 0 12. Olivier Panis (France) 0 13. Jos Verstappen (Netherlands) 0 14. Jos Verstappen (Netherlands) 0 15. Jos Verstappen (Netherlands) 0 16. Jos Verstappen (Netherlands) 0 17. Jos Verstappen (Netherlands) 0 18. Jos Verstappen (Netherlands) 0 19. Jos Verstappen (Netherlands) 0 20. Jos Verstappen (Netherlands) 0 21. Jos Verstappen (Netherlands) 0 22. Jos Verstappen (Netherlands) 0	
	Constructors' championship 1. Ferrari 24 2. Williams 15 3. Benetton 10 4. McLaren 6 5. Arden 4 6. Prost 3 7. Jordan 2 8. Ford 1 9. Arden 0 10. Arden 0 11. Arden 0 12. Arden 0 13. Arden 0 14. Arden 0 15. Arden 0 16. Arden 0 17. Arden 0 18. Arden 0 19. Arden 0 20. Arden 0 21. Arden 0 22. Arden 0	

Golf

Westwood thrives in hothouse

Patrick Glenn on an eight-day target of £1 m for Loch Lomond winner

WHATEVER else this week's Open championship at Royal Birkdale may hold for Lee Westwood, he is at least certain to encounter the sort of ferociously competitive atmosphere in which he thrives.

The 25-year-old Worksop prodigy's four-stroke victory in the Standard Life Loch Lomond tournament said as much about his willpower as it did about the talent that has brought four titles this year and taken him to the top of the European money list.

With the most formidable golfers in the world assembled in Merseyside this week, Westwood could not have chosen a more demanding test. It would make most players shiver with apprehension, but Westwood is no ordinary competitor.

Approaching the 14th tee during the final round, he was level with his playing partner, the Swede Dennis Edlund, at seven under par. The 14th at Loch Lomond, a par four, has a split fairway, with the safe option — a straightforward drive down the left — virtually trouble-free and leaving a short iron to the elevated green.

The route down the right gives the bold player a chance of reaching the green, but there is a carry of 275 yards over terrain to the front of the green that yaks could not negotiate. On Saturday the conditions — cold, damp air and a telling breeze — were not conducive to gambling.

But Westwood produced the driver, flew the ball 280 yards on to the green, and watched it roll back down the slope to the front edge. It was a moment that immediately put Edlund under intolerable pressure.

Westwood, as it transpired, had to settle for par because of a tricky putt up the green, which he left short, taking two more to hole out. Edlund made bogey and the spectators crowding around the 14th tee seemed to sense that the Englishman had administered the coup de grace with four holes still to play.

Westwood's action at that 14th hole seemed to leave Edlund quaking. He put his ball in the woods at the next, then ran up a triple-bogey seven as Westwood made birdie; the contest was over. The winner's last round of 70 gave him an eight-under total.

Of 276, four ahead of a group comprising Edlund, Ian Woosnam, Eduardo Romero, Robert Allenby and another young Englishman of huge promise, the 23-year-old David Howell of Swindon.

"I like the pressure," said Westwood, rather stating the obvious. "I like being in the heat of competition. A lot of players don't, but that's why I play the game, to get the adrenalin going."

"The forecast doesn't seem too good for Birkdale, and that suits me. I'm all for bad conditions, and the harder the course the better it suits me. I play better when I'm aggressive, I feel uncomfortable when I'm protecting."

Westwood's victory took his earnings on the Tour this year to more than £559,000, now ahead of the previous leader Colin Montgomerie by £108,000. He has also won in Asia and on the US PGA Tour, in New Orleans the week before the Masters at Augusta.

A win at Birkdale would make him richer by more than £1 million, thanks to the £1 million (£850,000) bonus offered by Standard Life to anyone who wins their tournament and goes on to complete the double in the Open.

With £141,680 in the kitty from Saturday and a £300,000 purse at Birkdale, Open victory would earn Westwood £1,091,680 in the space of eight days.

"That would be very nice," he said, "but I don't think I'll worry too much about the bonus. Winning the Claret Jug means more to me than money." There are not many 25-year-olds to whom £1 million is irrelevant.



Putt it there... Westwood accepts plaudits

Howling wind blows Open hopefuls right off course

David Davies at Royal Birkdale

A GALE stopped play yesterday. The Open championship qualifying round at the West Lancashire Club in Southport was blown off the course, because winds gusting at over 40 miles per hour were making golf balls roll from a static position.

When players complained that it was impossible to putt properly, the Royal and Ancient officials stepped in and, with 33 players still to complete their rounds, called off play for the day at 6.30. They will restart at 7.15 this morning.

Although three other courses along the same stretch of coastline were being used for qualifying — Southport and Ainsdale, Hesketh and Hillside — none of those is as exposed as West Lanc, which has several holes hard by the Irish Sea. It is also flat, whereas the other courses have dunes to protect them.

It is believed to be the first time a qualifying round has been affected in this way, although the 1996 Catalan Open, won by Paul Lawrie, was reduced to 36 holes because of the weather.

cause the course had been built in what turned out to be, at various seasons of the year, a wind tunnel.

The organisers' worst fears are that the 11 remaining groups will complete their rounds in relative calm should the wind blow itself out, so gaining a considerable advantage over most of the field.

Howard Clark, the former Ryder Cup player who went round in a creditable 73 late in the day, explained: "The wind made the course at least three shots harder this afternoon than it was for those who played in the morning."

Paul McGinley added: "I played the last six holes in those conditions. They cost me three shots. It was a 50-yard wind" meaning that to play into it made each shot effectively 50 yards longer.

The former Walker Cup player Bradley Dredge, who was the overnight leader, got his 69 in early.

Warren Bennett completed his second European Challenge Tour victory in six weeks when he scored a final round 70 to win the Slovenian Open in Bled. The 26-year-old from Watford finished on 270, 22 under par, for a three-stroke winning margin.

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Green and vengeful... the course in 1991, when Richard Boxall broke his leg at the 9th, Severiano Ballesteros blasted his way to ninth before sliding from Europe's No.1 to No.50 and Ian Baker-Finch could enjoy the champion's jug
PHOTOGRAPHS: PHIL COLE, DAN SMITH, ALLSPORT

Bogeyed foursome

Ian Baker-Finch

Age 37
Major 1
Best finish in major
Winner, 1991
Open, Royal
Birkdale
Career money £1,275,410
Teams World Cup '85;
Dunhill Cup '89, '92
Years as pro 19
Wins 18 worldwide
Low round 64, Birkdale '91

Jodie Mudd

Age 38
Major 0
Best finish in major
Tied 4th, 1987
US Masters and
1990 Open,
St Andrews
Career money £1,722,058
Teams Walker Cup '91
Years as pro 16
Wins 4
Low round 63, Bob
Hope Classic 1986

Chip Beck

Age 41
Major 0
Best finish in major
Second, 1993
US Masters
Career money £3,677,683
Teams Ryder Cup '89, '91, '93
Years as pro 20
Wins 4
Low round 59, Las Vegas
Invitational '91

Mike Harwood

Age 39
Major 0
Best finish in major
Second, 1991
Open, Royal
Birkdale
Career money £1,013,307
Teams World Cup '84, '91;
Dunhill Cup '91
Years as pro 19
Wins 11
Low round 62, 1991 German
Mercedes Masters



Twickers' world of little globes and lost marbles

FAIR GAME

Julie Welch



AN ESSENTIAL feature of dementia is not knowing where one is. In the case of the Rugby Football Union it is not knowing where South Africa is. This is how the whole misbegotten tour of the southern hemisphere came about. The only RFU member with 0 level Geography had popped out for another bottle of gin when the issue of the tour was raised and the itinerary was drawn up by people who could not quite place Cape Town on the map hunt seemed to recall it was around half an hour's drive from Auckland.

The second symptom of losing one's marbles is an inability to identify everyday objects, though to be fair to the RFU nobody else could put a name to any of the players in the touring party either. This was because it was picked from various C teams, plus anyone from the Extra Zs who could still see his toes over his belly.

It is the clubs who pay the salaries and, quite rightly, they argued that after a tough season making corporate videos and appearing on A Question Of Sport all their really famous players were too knackered for international duty. There was no way they were going to be allowed to go into the new season in a condition that made Boncrusher

Smith look like Prince Naseem.

Usually when a coach says, "It'll give us the chance to blood young talent," he means that a couple of injuries have proved a blessing in disguise by allowing him to give promising youngsters the taste of top-level competition in a controlled environment. On the recent tour the phrase was meant to be taken literally, with whimping juniors spending their summer holidays being macerated and dismembered by giant Antipodeans when they should have been back home putting Clearasil on their spots and waiting for their GCSE results.

People with dementia also have problems with executive function. This involves tasks such as planning, organising, sequencing and deciding well in advance what the rules of next season's competition are going to be. A lot of the fun and excitement of being a professional rugby player in England these days comes from not knowing until half-time in the final match of the season whether you are going for the title or have another 40 minutes in which to avoid the drop into the Second Division.

However, it is unjust to dismiss all members of the RFU as ponce-faced old wrecks; the modern game has attracted a new breed of young entrepreneurs whose commercial acumen is combined with strong principles and a real feel for the traditions of the game. Inevitably, these are the ones who storm out of Twickenham to form breakaway groups, leaving the big decisions to antiquated clots who spend hours reminiscing about the days when you could tread on an opponent's head, let him buy you a drink afterwards, then throw up over his shoes, reducing the appeal of the fivers stuffed inside them.

Factions are formed when the men of principle make a stand about perceived inequalities in the game. They feel they have a duty to speak up for rugby's little men, the ones at the bottom of the pyramid who can afford only one Porsche, having had to support their continuing participation in the sport they love by taking well-paid jobs in the City.

But the RFU is not completely without organisational flair. In a remarkable show of forward planning it timed its tour to coincide with the World Cup so nobody would notice how badly the side was doing. The England and Wales Cricket Board promptly took a leaf out of the same book and sneaked in successive Test routs by South Africa.

But, while the ECB went on to demonstrate its finger-on-the-pulse awareness of the public mood by arranging a heroic draw as soon as anyone was looking again, all the RFU managed was another pitiful defeat.

Another sporting occasion which passed blessedly unnoticed was Henley.

This year's coxless fours boasted a fiercely contested final in which both crews kept rowing after they had crossed the finish line. One upturned boat was later spotted floating in Lechlade but went unreported because it coincided with the France-Italy penalty shoot-out.

On the other hand, nobody ever notices Henley is on apart from a few elderly men in Babygro-coloured blazers. Sometimes even they do not realise that the river is unusually crowded, being far too busy trying to find out why someone has stuck marquee in their clubhouse gardens and let in a bunch of oiks with hired dress suits and fake la-di-dah accents.

Harlow's non-stop runner on the blind side

CENTRE STAGE

Pete Nichols

NOEL THATCHER says he has useful sight for about five yards, which implies it is not very useful at six. It should be enough to stop him walking into things. It does not, as Thatcher knows to his cost, stop him running into them. Thatcher, who runs a lot, has stumbled on more kerbs than he cares to remember in his races. Last week, when out training, he ran into a car.

For Thatcher it was that kind of week. It began with him breaking the world 10,000 metres record for an athlete with B2 visual impairment, a handicap he likens to seeing

the world through a snowy television screen. He broke the record at the Essex County Championships on a cold, miserable night in Basildon.

It was not the first time he had broken it but it was the first time that he had become county champion, beating the clear-sighted men too. "In the last few laps I ran in an outside lane because your eyes are getting more tired at that stage and I didn't want to take any chances," he says.

Thatcher had no sooner recovered from the race than he went down with a chest infection which, had it lingered, might have threatened his next appointment, the International Blind Association (IBSA) World Championships which begin in Madrid this week. He still sounds throaty but most of the virus has been shaken off and the car did no lasting damage either. So Thatcher flies out with the team this Thursday. The

championship trail of the Harlow physiotherapist began in 1984, when he won silver in the 400m at the Paralympics.

For the next two games Thatcher moved up a distance each time, winning gold in the 800 at Seoul in 1988, gold in the 1500 in Barcelona in 1992. It was in Atlanta, though, two years ago, that Thatcher really got stuck in.

For those Paralympics his ambition embraced the 5,000, 10,000 and marathon — in other words just about every track event he had not already won a title in. Thatcher trotted off to Miyazaki, in southern Japan, to prepare with a group of that country's Olympic athletes. In Miyazaki he picked up a stress fracture and 10 days before his first final he could barely walk down to breakfast.

If determination is a virtue Thatcher must be close to canonisation. He not only ran and won the 10,000 (Man With Broken Leg Wins Gold, said

one headline) but an hour before the final he ran the second leg in a 4x100 heat to help out another runner carrying a sore hamstring; they qualified too. "It was an unusual sort of warm-up," he agrees.

Three days after the 10,000 he ran and won the 5,000 and still felt he could go on and do the marathon because his general fitness, notwithstanding the fracture, was so good. Everything changed when he saw a television interview with Dr John Reynolds, the chief medical officer of the British team. "He was explaining that, if I did run, it could shatter the leg completely," he says.

When Thatcher came home there would not have been much time to run even if he could have. For over a month the celebrity round took over. When it slowed down and was back to normal the stress fracture had mended and he was out on the road again.

Last year was the turn of

the European Championships, held in Riccione, Italy, in September. Thatcher duly won both the 5,000 and the 10,000.

The World Championships in Madrid, he believes, will be harder because of the altitude (the city is over 2,000 feet above sea level). So the marathon will have to wait for another day and his best remains at a frustrating 2hr 35min.

His current world record is 32min 56sec but the 32-year-old believes he is only scratching the surface of his talent. "There are not too many distance runners with my basic speed but I'm still preparing like a club athlete," he says. "That could change now that lottery grants have been approved."

Thatcher would love to go back to Japan and train full time. The funding will give him time to prepare properly for Sydney and to increase the training load steadily.

On

Photograph by
Martin Gortwin

There will be other events this summer, I know, but nothing that is going to be as all-consuming or remotely as absorbing as Frank's. I am sure that this has not been a vintage World Cup. George Best and Rodney Marsh said as much on Sky's World Cup phone-in, but then they probably didn't have to work up some enthusiasm for the British Grand Prix, which was also on Sky. Still, the rain contributed to an exciting and controversial race but the night of cars spinning out of control, even abetted by Martin Brundle's expert analysis, was no substitute for his latest antics with scorching his way through another ludicrous welsh card.

"The third-placed team get bronze medals, while the losers tonight get diplomas. So you can see, it does come with a coconut," said Tidysealey. It was not how you could ever imagine Moore kicking off a World Cup commentary.

The vulgarians are at the gate, some would say. Which brings us to Fantasy Football, which is a little low this weekend with Frank Skinner's revelation that he had wiped a very personal part of his body on the World Cup. It beats me why anyone ever appears as a guest with him, and I don't know if you either deserve to their level, or smile unnecessarily throughout, as Greg Rusedski did on Saturday night.

Watts	74 73 73 68
Parovoz (Sov)	71 73 72 73
Field	75 70 78 74
Drummond	71 66 72 80
280	
Harrington	74 58 77 70
Lorat (Fr)	74 71 74 71

232. Long James (1) / Pedroso (Cub)
 51m; 2 E Walder (US) 48, 3 R
 McGhee (Jst) 8.40, Pule Vassili 1 Potap-
 chik (Kaz) 5.88m; 2 D Markov (Belg)
 75; 3 P Burishchenko (Rus) 5.55
 1000m 1 GB 38.57; 2 US 38.68; 3
 France 39.26. Distance 1 V Alekna (Lit)
 5.69m; 2 J Godine (US) 56 11; 2 M
 Hollenbeck (Ger) 64.80.
 1000m 1 C Aron (Fr)

HESS

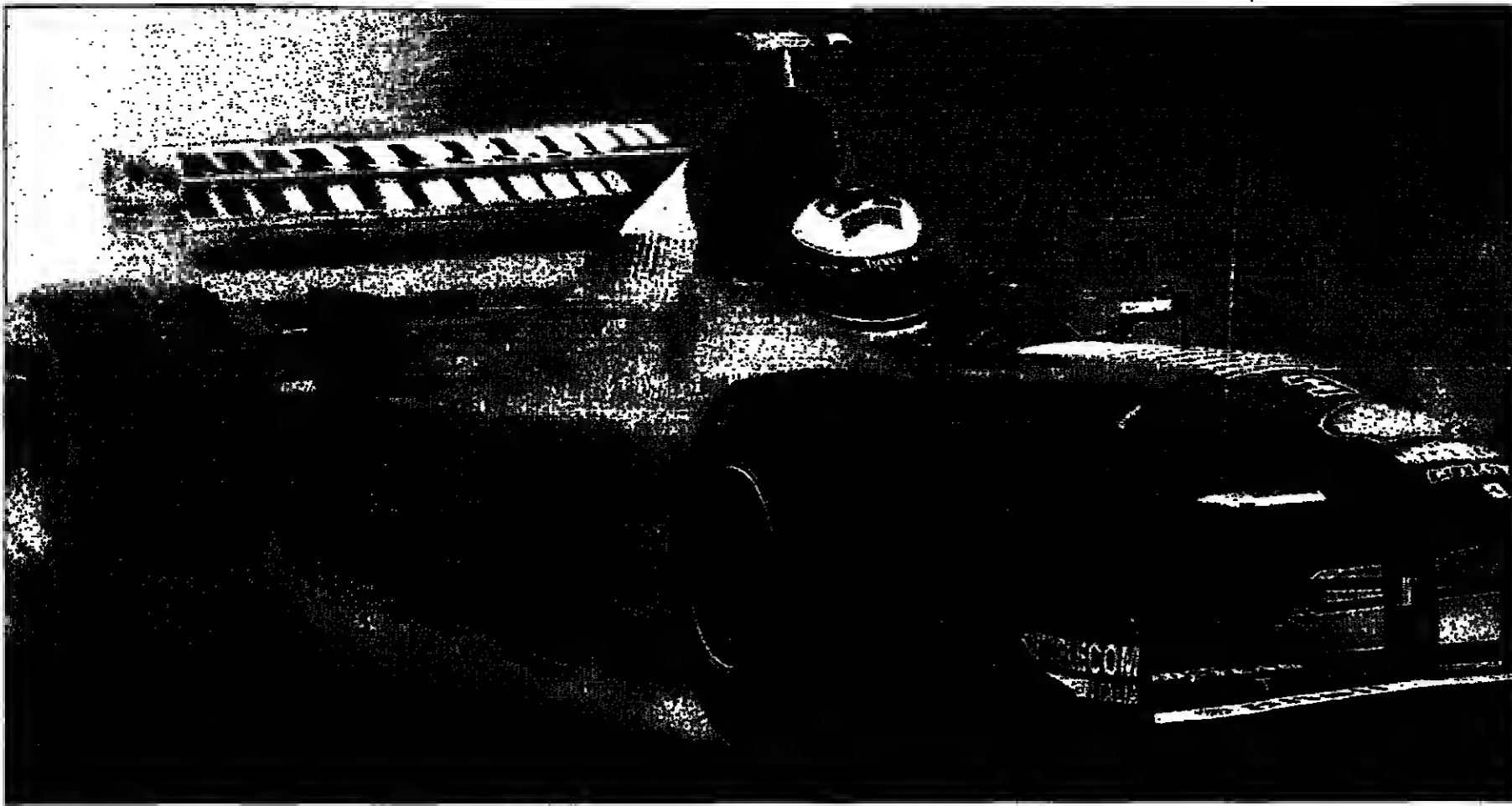
WED OLYMPIAD: England tests
Neotoma; Mike M Adams (Hackney); N
son (Athens); M Sauter (Chetnam); J
neiman (Hampstead); A Miles (Birming-
am); M Hobden (Leicester).

men's
Free) 7.15.08; 3 Denmark; 1 IB
myelson/B Kaliszant; 7.15.29. Final WC
and Seger; 1 Norway 1B; 2 Italy 1B; 2
Rep 14; 4 Hungary 12; 3 Poland 5.
lightweight double sculls: 1 Ger-
many 1 (Eiser/B Ruehlings); 7.27.35; 2 Italy

ees (Aus) 1:25.25; 3 J King (Aus) 2:01.13; 4 B Lindqvist (US) 1:59.27; 5 Iwata (Japan) 2:00.28; 3 H Hosoya (Japan) 2:01.15; 7 J Gallagher (Aus) 2:01.54; 8 E Williamson (NZ) 2:02.13; 2 B Althon (Fr) 2:02.19; 10 I Mouthon 2:02.19.

1

British Grand Prix



Watertight... Michael Schumacher, Ferrari's wet-weather specialist, shows his mettle to finish with 10 more championship points

EPC CARABIS

Stewards' inquiry finds in favour of Ferrari

Alan Henry at Silverstone sees Schumacher's latest brush with authority

MICHAEL Schumacher scored his first British Grand Prix victory yesterday in atrocious conditions and highly controversial circumstances which bordered on the bizarre.

Having won a remarkable battle with Mika Hakkinen's McLaren on a track surface intermittently assailed by torrential rain, the German brought his Ferrari F300 into the pit-lane to take a 10-second stop-go penalty after it had passed the chequered flag.

It was the culmination of a sequence of events which meant the race ended in a state of considerable tension and bad feeling, with McLaren lodging an official protest over the result and the way the matter was handled.

But after an hour's deliberation the FIA stewards dismissed the protest.

McLaren claimed that Schumacher had passed the Benetton of Alexander Wurz on lap 43 of the 60-lap race while the field was queuing behind the safety car which had been deployed to slow the race at the height of the downpour.

For this transgression the 29-year old German was handed a stop-go penalty but the stewards decided that this should be added to his race time rather than bringing him into the pits for a more time-consuming delay.

However, according to the rules, adding 10 seconds to the elapsed race time can be applied only if the race is within 12 laps of the finish, and that was not the case.

The stewards also seemed at variance with previous decisions they have made in similar circumstances. In last year's Austrian Grand Prix Schumacher incurred a 10-second stop-go penalty but had to come into the pits to take it.

This was not the first time that Schumacher had been in trouble at Silverstone. In the 1994 grand prix he was shown the black flag after overtaking Damon Hill's Williams on the parade lap and was then disqualified for ignoring the warning signal.

This time, before the safety car went out, Hakkinen's McLaren-Mercedes had built up a 38-second lead over Schumacher only to see it dissipated as the field slowed to a comparative crawl and Schumacher fell into line behind

Giancarlo Fisichella's Benetton and Toranosuke Takagi's Tyrrell in the queue behind the silver McLaren.

Two laps before the safety car emerged Hakkinen had spun wildly across the grass and a gravel trap on the outside of Bridge corner — in dry conditions a 150mph, near-flat-out right-hander — but managed to regain control and rejoin the circuit beyond the next corner.

After five laps' crawl the pack was unleashed again and Schumacher moved in for the kill.

With his nose section damaged by that spin across the grass, Hakkinen was struggling with a handling imbalance which prevented him fending off the German's Ferrari, which surged into the lead on lap 51.

Even Schumacher admitted he had been lucky. "I probably only won because of a safety car and Mika's problems," he said, "but I have to say that I just did not see the yellow flag for the Benetton which I was supposed to have passed."

It left Schumacher trailing the championship leader Hakkinen by only two points but for David Coulthard the race was a disaster, his title hopes sinking for good when he spun out of second place at the height of the downpour.

Similar errors put paid to the hopes of his fellow Britons Hill and Johnny Herbert, both of whom had started with high hopes of top-six finishes.

Hill's demise was particularly disappointing. Having qualified seventh, he ran as high as eighth in the opening stages, only to spin off on lap 14.

His discomfiture was heightened by the fact that his team-mate Ralf Schumacher battled through to sixth place, taking the Jordan team's first points of the season after being relegated to the back of the grid following a technical infringement in practice.

"It was pathetic really. I was trying to find a way past a backmarker when I lost the car and spun. I felt so bad but thanks to Ralf I will come away from Silverstone with some happy feelings," Hill said. "I was hugely disappointed not to have performed as I had hoped. I feel very sad not to have given my fans a good result."

For Eddie Irvine third place was a reward for a steady drive which, after a poor start from fifth on the grid, saw him complete the opening lap in a disappointing 10th place. "I had not expected this result after my poor start," he said. "I had no trouble with anybody apart from Damon Hill who weaved in front of me."

THE REASONS

for our improved seating.

SUMMED UP IN A single column.

BACK PAIN HAS NOW reached epidemic proportions in the UK. It is the single biggest cause of absenteeism, costing British companies and the NHS around £5.6 billion every year. It affects 54,000 people staggering off to their GP's each day. And it is likely at some time or other to affect 80% of us.

Although the trauma of back pain can touch anyone, at any level of society, there is evidence to suggest it particularly afflicts the poor beleaguered motorist. Especially the over-stressed, over-worked kind who clocks up 10,000 or more miles annually. Belting up and down the motorway in a cramped driver's seat, few realise they've caused any long term damage until it's too late. Until either a muscle, disc, or nerve decides to scream for help. But it needn't be that way, and if you read on for a few minutes we'll be happy to tell you how the Vauxhall Omega can provide a far more comfortable alternative.

DON'T PUT YOUR BACK OUT

WE'VE identified the two culprits that cause backache at the wheel. Firstly, the badly adjusted seat, and secondly, the poorly designed seat. While you can do something about the former, you could well be stuck with the latter for the next three years. Reason enough, we believe, to afford a little more scrutiny in this area. After all, you wouldn't buy a bed without making sure it felt comfortable or supportive, would you? It's an especially pertinent analogy, because a good driver's seat should be built to the same exacting standards as a quality mattress. Namely, to an ergonomic design, with the highest quality materials.

To this end, Vauxhall insist on seat cushions that are fully sprung, instead of being constructed entirely from foam. Back rests fashioned from natural, breathable materials, which won't overheat and cause the driver to feel tired. And overall proportions that are generous enough to accommodate even those who are ample of hip. But most importantly, we make sure our seats cradle the driver in all the right places, especially the lumbar area, and underneath the thighs. So hopefully you'll finish each journey feeling more refreshed and relaxed than you started it.

THE ONLY DISCS YOU SHOULD SLIP IN AN OMEGA

DRIVING with every muscle in your body tensed is the short road to fatigue and stress. Sometimes the calming influence of music is just what you need to relax and unwind. (There's now evidence that listening to our favourite tunes, reduces blood pressure, and stress hormone levels.)

Whatever you choose, be it Radiohead or Rachmaninov, it'll sound more soothing coming from our state-of-the-art CCR Bose sound system.* Operating the six disc autochanger CD player is less strenuous too. A set of steering wheel-mounted controls means your back doesn't have to leave the seat, or indeed, your eyes the road.

DO YOU NEED TO SEE A SPECIALIST?

Even if you're not a back pain sufferer, we'd like to point out the benefits of driving an Omega to you first hand. Contact 0345 400 202 for details* of your nearest Vauxhall dealership, and how to arrange a test drive.

* MAKE FOR THE STRAIGHT BACK *

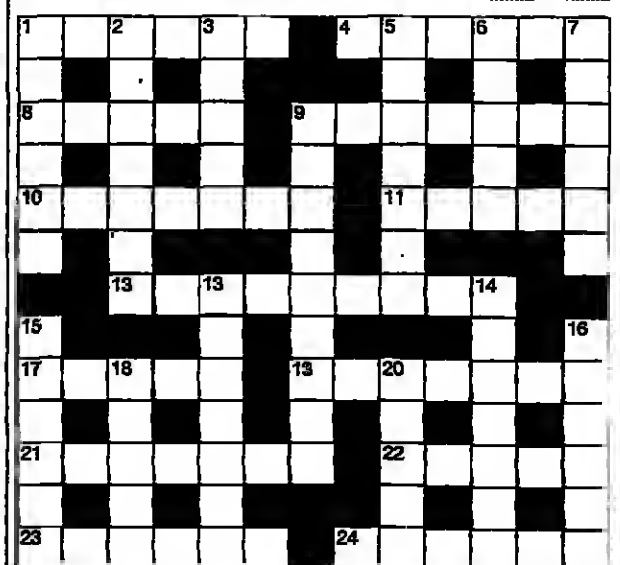
Oddly enough, the chairs that help you relax most may not be the lazy, over-stuffed variety. A chair that supports your back, and helps you to sit erect, is probably your best choice.

From 'The Little Book of Calm'.



A Positive Aid To Relaxation: THE VAUXHALL OMEGA

Quick Crossword No. 8798



Across

- 1 Conflict (5)
- 4 Weaken (5)
- 5 Tag (5)
- 9 Close — agreement (7)
- 10 Wealthy (7)
- 11 Female relative (5)
- 12 Rot (5)
- 17 Goodbye (5)
- 19 Need (7)
- 21 Hooligan (7)
- 22 Lifeless (5)
- 23 Vocal organ (5)
- 24 Still (5)

Down

- 1 Infrequently (5)
- 2 Recall (7)
- 3 Untrue (5)
- 5 Souvenir (7)
- 6 Conscious (5)
- 7 Cad (5)
- 8 Twin-hulled vessel (5)
- 13 Wariness (7)

- 14 Manifest (7)
- 15 Hardy, no, evergreen, yes (5)
- 16 Feverish (5)
- 18 Deduce (5)
- 20 Silence (5)



Solution No. 8787

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